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## The Distress of the American Farmer

By S. G. RUBINOW

Agricultural Economist

FOR the third consecutive time in as many years, American "agriculture" has presented its case to an American jury, has fought hard and valiantly for a verdict that would "relieve" and "solve" some of its difficulties and problems and has lost its case each time. The McNary-Haugen bill, hailed by many of its advocates as the key to the solution of the American farm problem, was first introduced and defeated in Congress in 1924, introduced with some alterations and again defeated in Congress in 1926, still further amended, introduced and defeated for the third time by a veto in 1927. Every indication points to the fact that this measure will again come up when Congress convenes in December. Furthermore, it is generally believed that "farm relief" will be one of the major issues in the 1928 Presidential campaign. What is the American farm problem? What are the sober truths and strait-laced facts underlying the problems of American agriculture? What does agriculture lack and what does it want? No one can deny that there is wanted a practicable and acceptable national agricultural policy. Such a policy must be conservative, unemotional and non-political if it is to be of any benefit to American agricul-

ture. It must conscientiously represent 6,500,000 farmers and their families, comprising nearly 30,000,000 of our people, whose capital, brains, energy and labor produce the necessities of life for which the consumer pays annually more than \$20,000,000,000. He who formulates such a policy and secures its universal acceptance will become the Gompers of American agriculture.

The so-called agricultural problem is a vast complex of real and specific problems. There is the problem of wheat, of corn, of cotton; there are the problems of live stock and live stock production. These are all individual problems. Each requires perhaps a different solution. There are problems of more efficient production, better marketing, more adequate storage, flexible credits, wider distribution, processing and manufacturing. There are problems of overproduction, labor, undercapitalization, overcapitalization, competition with world markets, exports, imports, tariffs. Then, we have the problems of production control, reduction of acreage, balanced production, diversification. There are also problems of stabilization of prices of farm products, reduction of production costs, elimination of waste, the industrializing of agriculture. Likewise, there are the problems of the

stabilization of lands and land values, the drift from country to city, the maintenance of a balance between industry and agriculture. All these problems enter into the so-called "general American farm problem," are responsible for the vast barrage of suggestions, plans and schemes with which the country has been flooded for the past ten years for "saving" the farmer and "salvaging" agriculture and have been productive of all the legislative measures introduced in Congress during the past decade.

Because the American farmer has lacked the ability or determination to organize himself cohesively as other industrial and business groups have done, others have undertaken to do for him the things that he himself should do. Self-help always brings its own rewards. Paternalism injures those upon whom it is forced. Without meriting or requesting it, the American farmer has become an object of curious interest, hypocritical pity and shallow sympathy on a scale unparalleled in American history. Nothing more unfortunate has come to agriculture than its entanglement with politics.

Three sessions of Congress have failed to produce any tangible evidence that any really constructive national farm policy is in the making. Beyond focusing public attention on the so-called "farm problem" Congress has certainly done nothing to solve that problem. The Gompers of American agriculture has not yet been found. The Plunkett of Ireland and the Raiffeisen of Germany have not yet appeared on the horizon of American agriculture. Out of the last session of Congress, whose members were deluged by countless farm relief bills, has come practically nothing except a voluminous propaganda featured by bitter, acrimonious debate, misinforming the world that America's rural civilization is in a perilous state and that our agriculture is decaying.

#### FUTILE COMMISSIONS

Numerous commissions, both private and public, have likewise done nothing to solve the problem. Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission resolved itself ultimately into an innocuous, gentle and conventional affair, which limited itself to holding annual conventions and publishing dissertations on country life in America. In 1924 President Coolidge appointed a non-partisan agricultural commission to investigate thoroughly the whole agricultural problem and report its conclusions to Congress for action. Every effort to get the various

farm groups together on the recommendations of that commission failed. Some wanted more legislation; others asked for less legislation; while the rest wanted no legislation at all. After the farm leaders emasculated the commission's findings Congress attended to the burial. This year a private agricultural fact-finding and policy-recommending commission has been established jointly by the National Industrial Conference Board and the United States Chamber of Commerce. This commission has been holding a series of hearings throughout the country. It is considering carefully everything that can throw light on the farm problem, and weighing judiciously every experience bearing on the farm problem. Yet no one can guarantee that the findings and recommendations of this business men's commission on agriculture will be acceptable either to Congress or to the various farm leaders of the United States, who authoritatively or otherwise are presumed to speak and act for American agriculture.

Congressional farm blocs, self-appointed farm organization leaders, politicians, professional lobbyists, "farm the farmer" experts and proponents of various panaceas for "farm relief" have failed to agree on any legislative measure the economic soundness and practicability of which would be acceptable, first, to those who are charged with the administration of our laws and, secondly, to the farmers themselves. Even the passage of the McNary-Haugen bill by substantial majorities in both the House and the Senate is no indication of any amalgamation of factions or the pooling of brains for solving the farm problem, because there was considerably more politics than economics injected into all the considerations for and against this measure.

Every imaginable panacea has been offered to the American farmer. Many people would make him prosperous through the tariff; others through free trade. Some offer him subsidies and paternalism as the open sesame to riches. He is told by demagogues to strike, quit producing, stop buying. The almost worn-out but constantly revived bait of success through political and legislative action is constantly dangled before his eyes. Even laymen, without any practical knowledge of the technical difficulties of organization and marketing, are showing him the rosy picture of an overflowing bank account to be secured through cooperative associations. And last, but not least, are those agricultural advisers who are trying to persuade him to adopt a plan



for eliminating his surplus, which is distinctly one of the serious problems of American agriculture, by methods which will only serve to create a still larger surplus. Every time we have an agricultural depression farmers are swamped with demagogical clairvoyancy. No one seems to remember when we reach these periods that the so-called agricultural problem is centuries old and has appeared time and again in economic cycles.

Whose fault is it that we have no national farm policy? Other groups have little difficulty in formulating and carrying out their policies. No outside help is required to shape the destinies of any other group, except the farm group. Whatever is accomplished is done within the particular class itself. No so with the farmer. There is no one that really represents him and he will not attend to the job himself. It is true, of course, that there are many farm organizations, but they are so constructed that the real farmer has very little to say regarding the character, purposes or accomplishments of such organizations to which he may belong, willingly or unwillingly, permanently or temporarily. I can point to many specific instances where the organizations that represented the farmer legislatively have existed only on paper with self-appointed and self-constituted leaders and spokesmen. For years I have taken part in scores of agricultural conferences. These meetings have always been characterized by the fact that the individual most concerned, the real farmer, was never present.

#### QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

The formulation of any farm policy, which is to be applied to the industry of farming in a general way, presages the answers to a number of questions, some of which are as follows:

1. Have international relationships and conditions in farm countries any bearing on our farm problem?
2. What causes agricultural depressions?
3. What has the farmer himself tried to do to remedy his troubles?
4. Whose fault is it that the farmer finds himself in his present condition?
5. Are other groups situated better than the farm group, financially and economically, and if so, why?
6. Why are some agricultural sections prosperous while others are not?
7. What crops are profitable at the present time; what are not, and why?
8. Can anything be done to prevent crop surpluses?

9. Has the farmer made any use of the legislation which has already been enacted for him?

10. Why is there such a diversity of opinion among farmers and farm organizations as to the causes of the so-called farm problem and the remedies to be applied?

11. What practical suggestions can be offered that will actually be executed by the farmers?

12. In what way can the Government assist in solving farm problems?

13. What will happen to agriculture if the farmer is left strictly alone?

14. How will such a policy react upon general business whose general foundation rests upon the raw wealth produced by agriculture?

15. Upon what kind of an economic program can the farmers of the United States be organized, representing as they do different sections, different crops, competing crops, competing markets, different costs of production and differences in education, temperament, nationality and degree of individualism?

Out of an experience of twenty years with the American farmer and his problems, covering production, management, organization, marketing and credit, including all sections of the United States and practically all farm products, I offer six recommendations on which to build a sound, national agricultural policy.

1. Agricultural extension work, as it is now conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture and the forty-eight land-grant agricultural colleges, should be extended and developed to a point where it will serve agriculture with maximum results.

2. Farm diversification in all its branches, particularly in the so-called one-crop farming sections of the United States, should be developed and accelerated.

3. Agriculture should not be allowed to be handicapped by the passage of any so-called "farm relief" measures that are not based on sound economics, and that are tinged with political atmosphere.

4. Successful business experiences which stand for the elimination of waste and the creation of greater efficiency should be made applicable to farming. Agriculture must become, more or less, industrialized.

5. Sound cooperative marketing should be fostered and encouraged. Scientific distribution should be applied to farm products in the same way that it has been used by industry.

6. All marginal and distressed lands that

are unfit for profitable production should revert to the Government, thereby stabilizing lands and land values.

The so-called farm problem will not be solved and no genuine national farm policy will be constructed until the farmer understands to a much greater extent the fundamental principles underlying the economics of production, selling, prices, organization, legislation, socialization and cooperation. When he does understand and apply these basic economic principles he will know how to secure a balanced production, will sell knowingly instead of in the dark, will realize and appreciate to a greater extent the factors that enter into price-making, will organize spontaneously and correctly, will ask for and secure sane and sound legislation, will substitute socialization for individualism and will practice efficient and practical cooperation instead of talking about its theories.

Perhaps the present adult generation of American farmers may find such a revolutionary change in methods too much of a task to accomplish. Perhaps, therefore, the greatest success lies in what is done with farm boys and girls, through what is known as junior agricultural extension work as it is taught by county agents, home demonstration agents and boys' and girls' club specialists, both in schools and in organized extramural club work. American agriculture now has an investment of \$80,000,000 in land, buildings, machinery and live stock. Yet the total amount spent annually on agricultural extension work from all public sources is only \$20,000,000.

#### EDUCATING THE FARMER

It is through this extension work in agriculture that the farmer secures the opportunity for understanding the various factors upon which his business is built. This extension work teaches him those fundamental principles of economics that are so essential to his success. He rarely possesses the time and facilities for attending resident schools and colleges. As a general rule, educational work in agriculture must go to the farmer through practical and experienced methods of approach.

There are 3,064 agricultural counties in the United States. Only 2,124 county extension agents serve this agriculture. In 940 counties there is no contact between the farmers and agricultural progress. There is no one in these counties to guide, develop and mold agricultural leadership and sponsor agricultural development. Furthermore, one county agent for each county

is not enough. Each county should have enough teaching man-power in it to give expert advice and recommendations on crops, live stock, breeding, care, management, soils, fertility, rotation, diseases, pests, construction, equipment and every other problem confronting the farmer of today. To say that the American farmer is the most efficient agriculturist in the world is simply to compare him with the tiller of the soil in foreign lands. Such a comparison is meaningless. The right kind of a comparison to make is to place the American farmer alongside of the American industrialist. When American agriculture reaches the efficiency attained by American industry it will be just as prosperous, just as strong and just as commanding in its position as American industry is today.

Our experiences demonstrate that the greatest demands for so-called "farm relief" are coming either from those sections of the country where the one-crop system of farming still prevails, from those parts of the United States where farm lands were artificially price-inflated during the war and are now suffering from deflation, from sections where banks had speculated in farm lands or from localities where individuals have large land holdings and are anxious to sell them. The only sound remedy for these distressed sections is diversification.

Diversified farming means a balanced production. As a general rule balanced production helps to eliminate the surplus problem. Surplus production of certain crops, generally produced in the so-called one-crop farming sections, has been responsible, more than any other one thing, for the so-called farm problem. Much of the prevailing agricultural agitation centres around production control. Practically every farmer understands in a limited way the law of supply and demand. He knows that large crops bring poor prices; that short crops mean better prices. Yet every farmer's acreage is guided, not by what he himself thinks he should plant, but rather by what he thinks his neighbors are going to do. For every farmer who boldly declares that he is going to reduce his acreage there are ten others who immediately increase their plantings on the strength of that statement. Production, therefore, cannot be decreased by any artificial methods. It cannot be decreased by legislation. It cannot be decreased by acreage-reduction campaigns. When the acreage is stabilized nature can and does regulate production. Prices also,

particularly artificial prices, influence production and acreage.

Any artificial price stimulation, such as that contemplated in the McNary-Haugen measure, will always increase acreage and production. Furthermore, such increased production, which will inevitably come if the McNary-Haugen bill or any similar measure is enacted, will immediately be reflected in greater surpluses of specialty crops, such as wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn and rice, in which there is already an appreciable surplus. The enactment of any measure founded on the principles in the McNary-Haugen bill will not only make the situation more serious than it is at present but it will likewise stop the progress of diversified farming by placing a premium, in the form of price subsidies, on one-crop farming, which in the past has not proved successful and profitable. Not until the farmer understands the production problem and is able to think and practice correctly in terms of ultra-diversification will the surplus problem and its attendant evils be solved. This is a long time off. It can be accelerated only through faster processes of education. Every farmer who favors any so-called "farm relief" measure, whether it includes export corporations, bounties, equalization fees, inverse tariffs or what not, is accepting these schemes and plans on faith. There is not one farmer in a thousand who understands any of these measures or their plans of operation.

#### LEGISLATION NO CURE

Ills there are in farming, but they cannot be cured by legislation. Legislation will not put fertility into the soil, will not make a 400-pound butterfat cow out of a scrub, will not produce or conserve moisture, will not stop the droughts and hot winds, will not eliminate rust, smut, wild oats, quack grass, the corn borer, the boll weevil, hog cholera and all the other factors that lower production, increase costs and diminish profits. The Northwest farmer, for example, who grows grains is penalized \$100,000,000 a year because part of his crop is worthless dockage, consisting largely of foul weed seeds. That same farmer has likewise cropped his land so relentlessly that where his soil formerly produced forty to fifty bushels of wheat per acre it is now yielding from ten to twelve bushels.

Diseases and pests which could be eliminated have taken their toll in American agriculture annually. In 1919 losses in grain in the Spring wheat States because of black stem rust amounted to \$76,000,000. Northwest business men furnished the funds for

destroying the common barberry bush which acted as a host for the rust and reduced the losses by \$61,000,000 from 1919 to 1926. The farmers were told over and over again what the remedy was to cure this ill, but they did practically nothing about it because they lacked training.

The American farmer has not had the opportunity of learning the facts that make for efficiency and profitableness as in the case of industry. The farmer needs more technical education than any other group in society. He must acquire the information that will enable him to stop the leaks, cut the costs of production and yield a greater return on his investment of capital, labor and brains. This is the lesson that agriculture must learn from industry and learn it better than industry. For industry can create monopolies and control prices. It can curtail its production. Agriculture can do neither.

Every farmer, for example, would like to receive "cost of production plus a fair profit" for every pound or bushel of every product he sells. But he can do nothing to control prices. The very nature of agricultural production prevents the formation of monopolies and the artificial control of prices.

If prices of farm products cannot be increased except through "short" crops and if crop acreages cannot be regulated except by nature and prices, then the only other thing to do is to cut costs of production. Some costs are stationary and cannot be changed. Other costs, however, can be decreased through more efficient methods of farming. Agriculture must become industrialized. It must find its leaks and stop them, thereby increasing its profits.

Farmers not only need technical education for greater efficiency in production, but they likewise need to know more about the economics of distribution and organization. If diversified farming, properly developed, will solve the problems of production, cooperative marketing and organization, developed in the right way and along sound lines, will do much in solving the problems of distribution. But in order to achieve success through cooperative marketing farmers must not only understand its basic principles, they must also actually want group combination and action. The sound development of cooperative marketing is a slow process. Like diversification, cooperative marketing must grow out of necessity and desire and must be permeated with a thoroughly saturated background of education.

Farmers generally understand the rela-



tion between market receipts and prices. Yet they invariably sell backwards. When prices go up, farmers hold their shipments back. The higher the price the less they sell, and the less they sell the higher the price. They say: "What is the use of selling today? The price will be higher tomorrow." Eventually some become panic-stricken or are forced to sell, and finally the market begins to drop. Then all begin to sell. The lower the market the more they sell, and the more they sell the lower the market. They say, then: "What is the use of waiting until tomorrow? If we do not sell today the price will be lower in the morning." Can any one except the farmer change these practices? I do not think so. Efficiency in selling and distribution demands as much knowledge and information as efficiency in production. It is all a matter of time and education. Co-operative marketing, sanely and properly developed, will stop some of the leaks in distribution and thereby increase the farmers' profits. Why the farmer has not availed himself of the tremendous amount of legislation which has been enacted in favor of cooperative marketing is difficult to say. Even the Sherman Anti-Trust law has its Clayton amendment that virtually gives the farmer an opportunity of organizing selling combinations without the restrictions that apply under this act to all other business. In addition, practically every State in the Union has the Standard Cooperative Marketing act upon its statute books; yet the farmer, as a whole, has been slow to take advantage of this legislation.

#### WEAKNESS OF ORGANIZATIONS

The American farmer has not organized himself voluntarily or spontaneously. He has either been forced unwillingly into organizations through artificial circumstances or else talked into organizing by professional organizers. Practically all the large commodity-marketing associations and national farm groups constructed during the past ten years have been designed and built from the top down by some one other than the real farmer. Out of 6,500,000 farmers in the United States, nearly 2,000,000 have joined from one to a dozen farm groups in this way.

The paradox in cooperative marketing is that those organizations that achieved the greatest success by securing the best prices for their products have failed because they have stimulated a larger production than that for which there is a legitimate demand. In other words, the larger the price obtained by these organizations the greater the prob-

lem of handling the large production that followed. If the members of these cooperatives had had the right kind of education, training and experience, they would not have allowed high prices to blind their judgment on future plantings. Successful cooperative marketing needs a highly educated and trained membership.

The price line for farm products has gone down; the cost line for farm production has gone up. There is evidently a greater production of certain farm products than can be taken care of by demand. Perhaps people are not consuming as much food as they used to. Perhaps the industrializing of labor and the substitution of the machine for the human worker has had something to do with the curtailment of demand for foodstuffs. How to bring the cost line of farm production down without deflating industry and labor and perhaps causing tremendous unemployment is difficult to say. Organized labor will not consent to deflation. Nothing can be done to make labor accept a lower wage scale, and that scale is reflected in the high cost of everything that the farmer purchases. If the problem in American agriculture is that of surpluses, then something diametrically opposite to the plan embodied in the McNary-Haugen measure must be suggested.

It is certainly true that a large amount of poor marginal lands have been thrown on the market, thereby increasing production as a whole, but lowering the efficiency of production per unit. It is now estimated that foreclosures on farm lands amount to something like \$1,500,000,000. If half of these lands could be taken off the market, production would be decreased, land values would be increased and stabilized and our surplus problem would be solved over night. Originally all these lands belonged to the Government. Many of them were secured through homesteading. Millions of acres were opened for settlement decades too soon, thereby causing the farm problem of today. Many acres were put into crops where the character of the land was such that it was not fit for crop cultivation. I believe that some plan should be devised whereby all marginal and distressed lands should revert to the Government and be held by it until such time as demand catches up with production.

The American farm problem is an economic, not a political, problem. It must be solved by the farmers themselves, with such assistance and aid as can be secured from business men whose prosperity depends upon the general welfare and stability of agriculture.



# Italy Under Mussolini

## I. Fascism—Its Consequences

By H. G. WELLS

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*This article was first printed in the Sunday Magazine of The New York Times, Feb. 6, 1927. Because of the eminence of the writer his attack on Fascism produced a deep impression, and a reply was procured by the Editor of Current History from an equally distinguished Italian writer, which is authoritative. Mr. Wells's article is reprinted by special arrangement; the reply follows.*

IS Fascism the invention and weapon of Mussolini or is Mussolini the creature of Fascism? Is Fascism something that would die if he died, or is it something that would have played its part in the world if that eminently theatrical figure had never been born?

No doubt that under its present name and as an organization Fascism from its very beginning has been most intimately associated with Mussolini. But though it has kept its name and its leader, it has changed its nature very completely since its appearance seven years ago. Beginning as something of a novelty, it has abandoned every novel pretension it ever made. This reality that has now taken on the name and organization of Fascism was fully vocal in Italy before the war, and its spiritual father is d'Annunzio. It was active and armed for the Fiume raid, while Mussolini was still encouraging crowds to loot shops and preaching "the railways for the railwaymen" and land for the peasants.

This spirit in Italy, which Mussolini did not create but which he has studied, adopted and used to clamber to his present fantastic position of Italian tyrant, had already found literary expression in the "futurist" poetry of Marinetti as early as 1912 and 1913. I can remember that rich voice in London at some dinner of the Poetry Society long before the war, reciting, shouting, the intimations of a new violence, of an Italy that would stand no nonsense, that abjured the past and claimed the future, that exulted in the thought and tumult of war, that was aristocratic, intolerant, proud, pitiless and above all "futurist." In those days Mussolini was just the sort of fellow the present time Fascist would spend a happy evening in waylaying and beating to death. He was a pacifist, a Socialist of the extreme Left, and he had made himself conspicuous

by leading an agrarian revolt, the Red Week, in Romagna.

Even in 1919 Mussolini had not found the real soul and substance of his party, and the youthful violence of Italy had still to discover its organizer and god. The early Fascist program read over again now, seven years later, is almost incredibly contradictory of all that Fascism now proclaims; it was republican, pacifist; it demanded the abolition of titles, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of propaganda, a census of wealth, confiscation of unproductive capital, suppression of banks and stock exchanges, grants of land to peasant soviets and so forth. It was, in fact, a new organization of Socialist extremists,



A SWEDISH IDEA OF MUSSOLINI  
—Sondagsnisse-Strix, Stockholm

outside the trade union and peasant classes.

But its strength lay not in its ideas but in the ability with which it was organized. It set about its work from the beginning with a melodramatic picturesqueness that seized upon adolescent imaginations; it was aggressive, adventurous, quarrelsome and implacable, after the heart of youth. It was, in a word, a great lark. But it put the rampant Italian futurists into a uniform and taught them a Roman salute. It developed a feud with the Socialists and the Populist Party. It grasped an immense opportunity at the municipal elections of 1920, when it supported, and in return had the connivance of, the Giolitti Ministry. It supplied convenient bands of young roughs to intimidate electors. It got arms in some secret but effective fashion, and a properly instructed police dealt with it in a spirit of friendly laxity. And when, next year, it had become an actual party represented in the Chamber, it turned against its foster-father, Giolitti, which served that venerable statesman right.

The early program had dropped out of sight by that time—it would be forgotten altogether were it not for the obstinate memories of antagonists like Sturzo and Nitti—and Mussolini was feeling his way steadily toward the poses and professions that would most fully satisfy the cravings of the more energetic and adventurous sections of Italian youth. He has emerged at last in a rôle that d'Annunzio could have written for him fifteen years ago, the rôle of the unscrupulous, magnificent Savior and Remaker of a Hairy, Heroic Italy.

As late as 1919 he had still been flirting with extreme socialistic ideas; it was only with the fall of Giolitti that he moved definitely over to patriotism, nationalism, religious orthodoxy and conservatism. I would not charge him with a cunning and calculated self-seeking in this change of front. He seems to have been guided by the quick instinct of the born actor and demagogue for what would "take," rather than by any intelligible reasoning; to throw himself and all his resources into the forms demanded by romantic reaction.

The forces of romantic reaction had been incapable of producing an organization, but they were prepared for melodramatic devotion. They had no great leader except an elderly poet of literary habits, unhappily lacking in hair and a little exhausted by aviation and Fiume, and they cried out for a hero in the full vigor of life. The Fascist organization, with the very little modification needed to scrap all the original principles, gave them the first, and Mussolini

was only too ready to take his cue and come forward into the limelight as the second.

One need only study a few of the innumerable photographs of Mussolini with which the world is now bespattered to realize that he is a resultant and no original. That round forcible-feeble face is the popular actor's face in perfection. It stares, usually out of some pseudo-heroic costume, under a helmet for choice, with eyes devoid of thought or intelligence and an expression of vacuous challenge. "Well, what have you got against me? I deny it."

It is the face of a man monstrously vain and at the mere first rustle of a hiss—afraid. Not physically afraid, not afraid of the assassin who lurks in the shadows, but afraid, in deadly fear, of that truth which walks by day. The murders and outrages against opponents and critics that lie like a trail of blood upon his record are the natural concomitants of leadership by a man too afraid of self-realization to endure the face of an antagonist.

#### ROLL-CALL OF CRITICS

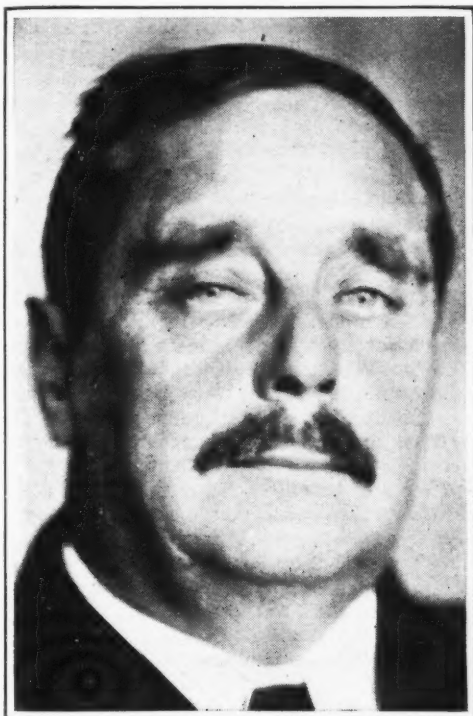
Away with them! Nitti, Amendola, Forni, Misuri, Matteotti, Salvemini, Sturzo, Turati! Away with all these men who watch and criticize and wait! What are they waiting for? Not one of these names of men beaten, exiled or foully done to death which is not the name of a better man than this posturing figure which holds the stage in Italy. And the supreme sin of each one of them has been the quack-destroying comment, the chill and penetrating eye.

In truth Mussolini has made nothing in Italy. He is a product of Italy. A morbid product, Italians ask: "What should we have done without Mussolini?" And the answer is: "You would have got another." What is now drilled and disciplined as Fascism existed before him and will go on after him. If he were to die, Fascism would not have the least difficulty in finding among the rich resources of Italy a successor as dramatic and rhetorical; its difficulty would be that it would probably find too many successors.

What then is this reality of Fascism, which inflates this strange being and allows him for a little while to do so much violence as the tyrant of Italy? What complex of forces sustains him?

One power of Fascism is that it is the first entrance of an organized brotherhood upon the drama of Italian politics.

It is only apparently a one-man tyranny. There is considerable reason to suppose that organized brotherhoods, maintaining a cer-



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H. G. WELLS

tain uniformity of thought and action over large areas and exacting a quasi-religious devotion within their membership, are going to play an increasingly important part in human affairs. Secret societies there have always been in Italy, but Fascism is not a secret society; it is an association with open and declared aims. It discusses its activities in big meetings and regulates them through a press.

The Communist Party, which dominates Russia, the Kuomintang, which is rescuing China from anarchy and foreign domination, are other such associations, broader and more completely modern in spirit, but structurally akin. Their ideals and those of the Fascists are in the flattest contrast, and their procedure is freer from furtive violence, but they have much the same material form. The contents of the vehicle differ, but the form of the vehicle is similar.

And while in the Communist Party we find Marxist theories struggling with practical reality and in the Kuomintang the conception of consolidating and developing a modernized but essentially Chinese civilization, in the Fascist vehicle there seems to be the ideology of a young and essentially

ill-educated Italian, romantic, impatient and, at bottom, conventional, wanting altogether in any such freshness or vigor of outlook as distinguishes the Kuomintang and Communist vision. Fascism as compared with these movements presents a mentality which cannot conceive new things, but which wants old things and itself made glorious. The Italian Futurism it succeeds was never more than a projected return to primitive violence. It is a modern method without a modern idea.

This Fascist mind demands workers who work with pride and passion and accept what is given to them cheerfully; soldiers eager for the prospect of death; priests who are saints without question, and teachers who teach but one lesson: Italy. It can face no doubts or qualifications. It sees taking thought in the light of treason, discussion as weakness, and the plainest warnings of danger as antagonism to be beaten into silence and altogether overcome. So long as Mussolini sings its song it will lavish upon him a medieval loyalty. Should he by some miracle be smitten with intelligence and self-criticism, it would sweep him away. Its honesty, as a movement in general and disregarding the manifest cynicism and commercialism of some of its older leaders, is indisputable. Mussolini before the cameraman as a hero is the caricature portrait of Young Italy before the world as hero.

Now, how comes it that Italy has produced this sort of youthful mind in sufficient abundance to fill the ranks of Fascism and make it for a time at least a great and powerful machine? Why has Italy bred her own servitude and degradation? To answer that question completely would demand a long and intimately critical study of the development of Italian secondary and higher education, and of the quality and supply of reading matter to the inquiring adolescent during the past half century.

For my own part, I do not even know if it is a case of bad schools or of insufficient schools, of inaccessibility of education, of religious or anti-religious tests for the teachers, of aloofness or cheapness of quality in the universities, of a pervasion of teaching by propaganda or a defective distribution of books. But bad education there has surely been, and Italy reaps the consequences today.

The Italian intelligence is naturally one of the best in Europe, but in some way or in several ways it must have been underfed, underexercised and misdirected for this

supply of generous, foolish, violent young men of the middle classes to exist. This mentality could not be possible without a wide ignorance of general history or world geography, without the want of any soundly scientific teaching to balance the judgment and of any effective training in discussion, fair play and open-mindedness to steady behavior. It is the mentality of the emotional, imaginative, intellectually under-trained hobbledy-hoy.

#### GOOD IN FASCISTS

For the most tragic thing of all, to my mind, in this Italian situation is the good there is in these Fascists. There is something brave and well-meaning about them. They love something, even if it is a phantom Italy that never was and never can be; they can follow a leader with devotion even if he is a self-deceiving charlatan. They will work. Even their outrages have the excuse of a certain indignation, albeit stupid sometimes to the pitch of extreme cruelty. Mixed up with this goodness there is no doubt much sheer evil, a puerile malignity and the blood-lust of excited beasts, as when so hideously they beat to death and out of recognition the poor child who may or may not have fired an ineffective pistol at their dictator. But the goodness is there.

Yet I do not see that the alloy of generosity and courage in Fascism is likely to save Italy from some very evil consequences of its rule.

The deadliest thing about Fascism is its systematic and ingenious and complete destruction of all criticism and critical opposition. It is leaving no alternative government in the land. It is destroying all hopes of recovery. The King may some day be disinterred, the Vatican may become audible again, the Populist Party of Catholic Socialism hangs on; but it is hard to imagine any of these three vestiges of the earlier state of affairs recovering enough virility to reconstruct anew a shattered or an exhausted Italy.

Fascism is holding up the whole apparatus of thought and education in Italy, killing or driving out of the country every capable thinker, clearing out the last nests of independent expression in the universities. Meanwhile, its militant gestures alarm and estrange every foreign Power with which it is in contact. Now through Tyrol, it insults the Germans to the limits of endurance; now it threatens France monstrously and recklessly; now it is the turn of the Turk or the Yugoslav.

Yet no European country is less capable of carrying on a modern war than Italy; she

has neither the coal, steel nor chemical industries necessary, and equally is she incapable of developing a modern industrialism without external resources. Her population increases unchecked; no birth-control propaganda may exist within her boundaries. So beneath all the blare and bluster of this apparently renescent Italy there accumulates a congestion of undereducated and, what soon will be, underfed millions. British and other foreign capital may for a time bring in fuel and raw material to sweat the virtues of this accumulation of cheap low-grade labor. We may hear for a time quite a lot about the industrial expansion of Italy. We may be invited to invest in Italian "industrials." But one may doubt whether the more intelligent workers of Western and Central Europe will consent to have the standards of European life lowered by Italian cheap labor without a considerable, and probably an effective, protest.

So it seems to me that the horoscope of Italy reads something after this fashion: This romantic, magnificent, patriotic Fascist Party, so exalted and devoted in its professions, will continue to grip the land; but, of necessity, it must become more and more the servant of foreign and domestic capital, and more and more must it set itself to reduce its dear and beloved Italy to a congested country of sweated workers and terrorized peasants, until at last it will be seen plainly as the industrial slum of Europe. I do not see any force in Italy capable of arresting the drive to degradation and catastrophe that the Fascist movement, for all its swagger, has set going.

Italy is now the Sick Land of Europe, a fever-patient, flushed with a hectic resemblance to health and still capable of convulsive but not of sustained violence. She declines. She has fallen out of the general circle of European development; she is no longer a factor in progressive civilization. In the attempts to consolidate European affairs that will be going on in the next decade Italy will be watched rather than consulted. She has murdered or exiled all her Europeans.

Many things may happen ultimately to this sick and sweated Italy, so deeply injured and weakened by her own misguided youth. Her present flushed cheeks and bright eyes and high temperature will presently cease to deceive even herself. She may blunder into a disastrous war or she may develop sufficient social misery to produce a chaotic social revolution. Or one of these things may follow the other. And either war or revolution may spread its effects wide and far. In that way, Italy be-



comes a danger to all humanity. But as a conscious participant she ceases to be great and significant in the world drama. She is now, for other countries, merely Mussolini. She may presently be his distracted relic.

But Italy is something more than a huge river valley and a mountainous peninsula under a Fascist tyrant. Italian intelligence

and energy are now scattered throughout the earth. Who can measure the science and stimulation we in the rest of the world may not owe presently to the fine minds, the liberal spirits, who have been driven out of Italy by the Facists' loaded cane? How many men must there be today, once pious sons of Italy, who are now learning to be servants of mankind!

## II. In Defense of Fascism

By TOMASO SILLANI

Editor of *La Rassegna Italiana* (Rome)

IT is well that an Italian of the younger generation has been asked to answer the same question that was put to H. G. Wells. This famous author really had too easy a task. Accustomed as he is to the creations of his imagination teeming with fictitious beings, he literally invented a modern Italy and an Italian people living therein. Then, having to speak of Fascism, he invented for his own ends a Fascism of his own, and even a Mussolini completely unknown to all who are familiar with this exceptional man. As a picturesque fairy tale, therefore, the article published by H. G. Wells in the widely-read New York Times Magazine is an attractive and readable item. A serious and responsible example of writing it certainly is not. Wells's brilliant qualities as a writer and the worldwide celebrity he enjoys cannot atone for the injustice he does Italy by his opinions, which are based on a wholly superficial study. In Italy no one would have dreamed of writing about England and the United States and the eminent personalities that govern those countries, without first carefully and impartially studying the social and political life, the interests, the needs of those countries, and the antecedents and tendencies of their leaders. H. G. Wells has chosen a different method. I propose to give the facts to show that he has committed a grave and unpardonable error which will not add greatly to his reputation.

Fascism cannot be understood without recalling that period of Italian life which beheld the triumph of materialism, the rise of the more violent socialistic movements and the weakening of conservative tendencies to the point where they became an anaemic liberalism, which, by its mildness and lack of vigor, permitted a progressive

humiliation of the State's authority. There then arose, as a reaction to a situation so fraught with danger for the future, the movement of Italian Nationalism, which, in spite of much opposition and the small number of its supporters, fulfilled an important historical mission that illuminated the whole period falling between 1905 and 1919, culminating in two memorable phases of Italian life, the Libyan War and the World War.

Italian Nationalism started with the object of re-establishing at home the solid foundations of responsible national life and of transferring, in course of time, the problems of that national life from domestic to foreign politics. Its founder, Enrico Corradini, was the inspired preacher of the new Gospel, which was to have a decisive influence on all Italian contemporary life and to form a platform for Fascism's triumphant activity.

The nation, according to the Nationalist doctrine, is the most perfect form of collective life. The supreme ethical beauty of nationalistic teachings lies, in short, in the subordination of the individual to the nation as a whole, which, since it is a conscious and willing subordination, is transmuted into duty and sacrifice. Considered from this viewpoint, Nationalism acquires the value of a religion, which justifies its insistence on the right of the nation to assert itself and to reject everything that could weaken its force and undermine its rights. Italian Nationalism was bound, therefore, to declare a war to the death on liberalism and democracy, born of the conception that in any given society the individual is the guiding principle and the end, and the nation only the means. The liberal-democratic State which was set up in Italy gave

a people who had but recently issued from long centuries of servitude and from over a thousand years of national disunion, a political and juridical system based on principles fundamentally individualistic and opposed to the imposition of authority from above. A State of this kind was but a fragile edifice, an organism lying outside the sphere of the vital, active forces of the country—forces which the State placed all on the same level and which it protected equally. Lacking any concrete idea, any fixed principles of its own, and ready to accept any and all principles and programs from others, such a State did not dominate the forces existing in the country, but was dominated by them; these decided, and the State submitted to their decision and executed it. Not having, then, any idea of its own to impose, it became the battlefield of all those tendencies and groups that found expression and which were free to conquer and subject it, in turn or simultaneously, depending on their respective importance at the time. Together with liberalism, and even more strongly, democracy supported this species of individualistic utilitarianism, defending the selfish interests of the individual, as against the interests of the nation as a whole.

Socialism, however, from the Nationalist standpoint, was still worse. Where liberalism and democracy made the individual sole arbiter and sovereign by instinct and by natural law, Socialism represented an even greater danger, reducing everything to a class war whose end was the defeat of capitalism, the declared enemy, and advocating a future society without any social differentiation, that is, without any elements of struggle and therefore of life.

The war which Nationalism declared on liberalism and democracy on one side, and on Socialism, on the other, was immediate and unrelenting. The novelty of this struggle, its violence and decision, astounded the country, which was used to compromises and renunciation, and exasperated its adversaries. To the aid of liberalism and democracy came Freemasonry, a secret association which, after starting from noble beginnings during the Italian *Risorgimento*, had degenerated into a mysterious sect, which, underneath apparently humanitarian and international aspirations, concealed the basest political machinations and mean jobbery. But the positions which these forces had possessed themselves of in the State were irreparably shaken. The shock of the tremendous events that later ensued caused them to crumble forever.

This exposition of Nationalist doctrines forms the explanation of phenomena which would otherwise remain incomprehensible. The most important of these phenomena are: first, the spiritual crisis which caused Mussolini to give up the pacifist theories of Italian Socialism, in which movement he had taken a prominent part, and to begin his war propaganda which was to lead him to the foundation of Fascism and to the conquest of power; secondly, the moral meaning of Fascist syndicalism and of the transformation, now almost completed, of the State, which constitutes the chief originality of the Black Shirt Revolution.

#### D'ANNUNZIO'S INFLUENCE

We must at once exclude from consideration two incidental elements which H. G. Wells considers fundamental in the accusation of opportunism and incoherence which he brings against Mussolini and Fascism. The Futurist movement and the activity of Gabriele d'Annunzio, especially the latter, had considerable importance in the preparation of Italian minds. To many young men Futurism had, in times of quietism and pacifism, preached energetic formulas of living and of action, eulogising struggle, movement, beauty, conquest. D'Annunzio, however, from his earliest years had sung the love of country, Italy's great spirits and heroes, had held alight the torch of irredentism in which burned the names of Trent, of Trieste, of Zara, of Spalato, and had celebrated the *gesta d'oltremare*, the great deeds across the sea. All this enabled him, in Italy's decisive hour, to become the poet of his people, the most listened-to advocate of Italy's intervention in the World War, the brave soldier and the firm and prudent organizer of the Fiuman enterprise. But though both the Futuristic apostleship and the marvelous activity of d'Annunzio may have reflected states of mind of considerable value, they did not constitute a sharply defined doctrine on which to base the events that led to the March on Rome and to the Fascist revolution.

Nationalism, on the other hand, exercised a far more important influence. A decisive element in the spiritual preparation of Italy, it had, after the Libyan War, intensified its struggle against liberalism, democracy and Socialism, and, while maintaining its exclusive character as an élite, it had, intent on the study of problems concerning Italian expansion and Italy's assertion of her right to be reckoned as a great world factor, cast a decisive weight in the scales at the time of Italy's momentous decision in 1914 and



## ITALY'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The glorious history of a chick that became an eagle

—Il 420, Florence.

1915, in contrast with the hesitation of liberalism and democracy and the resolute hostility of Socialism to the World War. During the course of that war, it had strenuously fought for the claims of Italy, and in fighting to prevent Italy from being defrauded of the fruits of her victory after the armistice, it had formed the first bulwark against the onslaught of anarchy that was already beyond control by the liberal State, now at a loss and unsustainable by any virile will.

## THE RISE OF FASCISM

But another imposing force had come into the field and was winning popularity and ever greater adherence. On Nov. 14, 1914, there appeared the first number of the *Popolo d'Italia*, edited by Mussolini—now an interventionist. He had left the Italian Socialist Party, which was pacifist in sentiment and blind to the mighty events that were occurring; he had resigned from the *Avanti*, leaving behind him nothing of the greatness of his thought or his heart. The words pronounced by him on the threshold of his new life are decisive and significant. "We must act, move, fight; if need be, die. Neutrals have never dominated events; they have always suffered them. \* \* \* It is atrocious irony to cry: 'Down with War!' while men are fighting and dying in the trenches. \* \* \* Today—I cry it aloud—anti-war propaganda is the propaganda of

cowards. It succeeds because it appeals to the instinct of individual preservation. \* \* \* German national unity has determined the national unity of other countries. The International is done with. \* \* \* One cannot deny one's country. One cannot deny one's mother even when she does not offer us all her gifts and obliges us to seek our fortune on the tempting roads of the world."

*La Patria!* Our country! This is the sublime conception which explains and justifies the inner tragedy of this singular man. But there is here no question of a suddenly revealed truth; it was enshrined in his inmost being. From Predappio, his native town, in February, 1905, after his mother's death, he wrote these words to one of the officers of the regiment in which he had done his military service:

Long wailing and tears are good for women; suffering and death in silence, not weeping, are for strong men; to work and to work on the good road, to honor domestic memories and those of our country which are still more sacred, not with sterile lamentations, but with good deeds. It is well to remember, to commemorate the heroes who with their blood have cemented the unity of our country, but it is still better for us to prepare, thus proving that we are not degenerate descendants of our great forefathers, and to offer our breasts as a strong bulwark if ever the Northern barbarians should attempt to reduce Italy to a 'geographical expression.' That is how I feel.

In 1905, then, when Italian Nationalism was elaborating its doctrines, the revolutionary Socialist Mussolini, although developing in an opposite direction, adhered to the patriotic idea, to the idea of the country as superior to the individual, and announced that it was necessary to prepare to fight and to die for her. It is a point of contact of enormous importance which comes out into strong relief in 1914 and forms the basis of that identity of aims between Nationalism and Fascism that was to lead to the natural and complete fusion of the two doctrines, and to close collaboration between the men who conceived and formulated them. This must not be forgotten.

"Last of the middle-class parties, or of those of the directing classes," Nationalism, as its founder wrote, had neither the skill nor the power to become the first party of the entire Italian people. After the long effort to create a national consciousness, it had become almost exhausted in the hard struggle for intervention and for the defence of Italian claims. In 1919, when Fascism, its greater brother, was founded, it was still fighting strenuously and powerfully; but it represented a vanguard devoted to political propaganda and education, not



an army. To Mussolini was reserved the miracle of creating the first national party, representing the mass of the people, and the importance of this fact has been almost rightly understood by H. G. Wells. In the Spring of 1923, soon after the March on Rome, this party of the masses, after winning the first phase of its struggle, absorbed Nationalism, which disappeared as an independent organism, but continued in Fascism as a tendency, in a vaster and more fruitful field of activity and construction.

#### A REACTION AGAINST ANARCHY

At this point we may ask: What reasons determined the rise of Fascism, and what is Fascism? H. G. Wells thinks he can nail the Fascist movement down to the doctrines announced in its program, which he defines as "that of a new organization of extreme Socialists." He is mistaken. In saying that, he gives the most complete proof of his total lack of understanding and lack of preparation for judging Italian affairs. Fascism arose as an urgently needed reaction against the disorder and anarchy which had invaded Italy after the war and which were threatening the very life of the nation. The men who in March, 1919, gathered around Mussolini represented all parties and the most diverse ideas: monarchists and republicans, conservatives and revolutionaries, they all tended toward one goal: the salvation of their country at every cost.

The program which was then broadcast (and which H. G. Wells reproduces with great inaccuracy, for it is not true that Fascism then proclaimed itself republican) had only the momentary value of the situation for which it was intended. Important and binding, at that time, was simply the aim which the movement had in view, and only the immediate struggle to reach this aim was essential. "The Fasci," Mussolini says, "were constituted on March 23, and on April 15, three weeks later, they were already so audacious and powerful as to be able to overcome a general strike, to break up a threatening Bolshevik demonstration, and—a thing which today seems extraordinary—they proceeded at once to attack the enemy's fortress and to set fire to it."

There is a deep, underlying reason for the rapid and decisive success of this political movement. In 1919, the progress of disintegration of Italian society, as it was organized and established by liberalism and social democracy, had begun to assume those gigantic proportions which were to reach their maximum limit in the ensuing

year. The authority of the State was humiliated and diminished abroad and at home; abroad by the bullying betrayal of the Allies, who, saved by Italian intervention from an irreparable military disaster, now disowned the treaties they had signed, and refused to recognize Italy's right to expansion and new life which 700,000 glorious dead had won for her, while her representatives at the Peace Conference showed no capacity to resist and to react; at home, by Socialism transformed into Bolshevism, which held up Russian Communism before the working masses as a sort of Paradise to be attained by disorder and violence, and, after having had to submit to the war, now rebelled against it, attempting deliberately to aggravate its consequences.

In 1919 Italy no longer bore the aspect of a civilized nation. The masses, swept away by hatred, aroused by unscrupulous agitators, abandoned themselves to the worst kind of excesses. The veterans of the war were insulted and beaten, the harvests were burned in the fields, the cattle were allowed to die on the farms. Innumerable were the ambushes and murders of landlords, of agents faithful to their orders, of factory-directors who tried to withstand the devastations of the Bolshevized workmen. For mere economic reasons there were organized, in that year, 1,663 strikes, with 1,049,438 strikers and 18,887,917 work-days lost. For political reasons the entire life of the peninsula was suspended; the public services, railways, trams, post, telegraph and telephone did not function, the steamers remained motionless in the harbors. On many occasions bread was made only for those who were members of the revolutionary parties, and the presence of a policeman in a train was enough to cause the train to be stopped at once, even in the open country—to be started again only after the expulsion of the policeman, whose presence was considered provocative.

The disgust and displeasure felt by all good citizens and especially the veterans, the younger members of the intellectual classes and serious workmen, notably the peasants, over this state of affairs, and the resentment against the Government which was unable to find a remedy, were immense. Isolated but dangerous reactions burst out here and there. It was necessary to end this fever at all cost. And so, since the revolutionary forces held the squares and the streets by violence, Fascism descended into the field with equal violence. But while the violence of the rebel masses could be described as evil and brutal cruelty, the





## ITALY AND THE NEIGHBORS' GOSSIP

She takes care of her own place, sticks to her work and takes no notice of their words.  
—Guerin Meschino, Milan

violence of Fascism, better organized and more conscious of its aims, was a painful but necessary surgical operation of the kind which removes from a body a malignant tumor and saves it from progressive putrefaction and certain death.

The ardor of this heroic movement was marvelous if we think of the disproportion of the combating forces. To Fascism, which in 1920 counted only 20,615 members, the revolutionary parties in the same year opposed the masses, which produced 1,881 strikes with 1,000,268 strikers and 16,398,227 working days lost. Without any resistance on the part of the State, they engineered armed occupation of the factories, with 450,000 workmen in the struggle. And last of all, they organized the sabotage of all the public services, thus paralyzing the entire life of the nation.

## THE MARCH ON ROME—ERECTION OF NEW STATE

But in 1921, at the second congress, which was held in Florence, Fascism was already able to assemble imposing battalions, with a military organization which reached the figure of 250,000 members. Conscious of its strength, sure of the future, it manifested in the basis of the Party's Program, its will to "aspire to the supreme honor of governing the country."

Thus we reach the "March on Rome," the decisive act by means of which Fascism seized the Government of the country and directed all its forces and all its organizations to the establishment of the national State. Personally decided upon by Mussolini in the Summer of 1922, this march of

armed legions towards the capital of Italy took place in the following October. While it was being almost openly prepared, the State continued on its way toward dissolution and Parliament was incapable of electing any Government which was more than a simple Ministry.

It was one of these Governments, presided over by the weak lieutenant of Giolitti, Signor Facta, which decided to oppose the resistance of the army to the advance of the Black Shirts. But this decision was rejected by Victor Emmanuel III. He had understood that an army of revolutionists was approaching Rome, but revolutionists consecrated to restoration and renewal, not a horde of fanatics desirous only of power, and clothed, as H. G. Wells says, "with melodramatic picturesqueness." By his orders the regular troops of the army were withdrawn and the gates of the Eternal City were opened to the entrance of youth, with its songs and its religious fervor. The insurrection received the seal of perfect constitutionality. Its head, the former socialist revolutionary who had never denied his country, and had been baptised in its name with blood bravely shed in the trenches, was admitted to the King's presence in the Palace of the Quirinal, and received from the King the investiture of power. Italy had, at last, order, government, law.

Let us look at this grim and incoherent tyranny which Mussolini, that "theatrical figure with the face of a man monstrously vain and frightened" has installed in this Italy which he wrongly loves and supports in its gigantic task!

It has devolved upon the Fascist Government, since the March on Rome, to build the nation anew, ending the lamentable past and preparing the foundation for the future; and it has devolved upon the Party, under the guidance of the man who is at once both its "Duce" (leader) and the head of the Government, to transfer its own aims and functions to the State, that is, the régime, to which they now properly pertain. In conformity with this program, ever since October, 1922, Fascism—which is not at all the Party-State which its adversaries would make it out to be, in order that they may combat it more easily, but rather the greatest step which the Italian people have made for centuries toward collaboration of all forces and all viewpoints—has, as a Government, taken pains to establish a foreign policy at once peaceful, dignified and manly, a policy calculated to put an end to the humiliations and the renunciations which were accepted in the past, to restore the finances, to reorganize the public services, to re-establish firmly and energetically public order throughout Italy, and to institute such reforms and pass such laws as sad experience had shown to be indispensable to the safety and stability of the State. As a Party it has closely collaborated with the Government, avoiding all interference with the functions of the State, and studying, in that mixed body of politicians and party leaders which is called the *Gran Consiglio Fascista*, all those reforms which constitute the essence of the Black Shirts' Revolution, and which have culminated in the creation of the Fascist State and in the organization of the labor corporations—a splendid social and political achievement, which represents the greatest experiment of our times. And now that the nation is placed at the summit of an ideal pyramid, everything groups itself harmoniously around it.

What is, in brief, the Fascist State? It is the realization of the Mussolinian formula: "Everything for the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State." This theory must not be crudely interpreted, as is done by certain critics, as advocating a State in the form of an omnipotent organism which absorbs everything and oppresses everything. Fascism, it is true, conceives the State as sovereign and superior to individuals, groups and classes, but it is based on the idea that the State must make use of its sovereignty, not as a lever for tyranny, but to reach, by its means, lofty and superior ends. The reason for the superiority of the powers attributed to the State

lies precisely in the superiority of its aims and in the fulfillment of its mission to uplift its citizens, both morally and socially, at home and abroad. It is thus evident that the power of the State neither humbles nor oppresses the citizens, but benefits them, reflecting itself in them.

The Head of the Fascist State is the King, from whom descends all other authority operating in his name. The monarchy is one of the bulwarks of Italian life. The first and most solemn declaration of the Fascist régime concerned this very institution, which has for Italy a historical value as a "function of the nation." "The *Gran Consiglio Nazionale* of Fascism," that declaration says, "in the face of the work of belittlement of the historical and political function of the Crown, carried on by the caste which has hitherto been able to monopolize the power of the State because of the degeneration of the democratic parliamentary régime, reaffirms its loyal devotion to the monarchy, understood as the supreme expression of the nation's forces and ideals, and as a fundamental element in the continuity of the country's unity."

And this is the lifeless relic mentioned by H. G. Wells! The sovereign, in Italy, is the centre of the national life. He possesses the highest prerogatives, including that of the choice of the Prime Minister, as is established by the law on the attributes of the Head of the Government. It is the King who, in the downfall of purely parliamentary government, assays and interprets the importance and the tendencies of the real forces operating in the country. Placed above all parties, possessing, as the heir of an ancient dynasty, the historical sense of the nation's life, he is considered the best judge and arbiter of the situation, and his will is decisive both in the choice of the Prime Minister and in the duration of the powers attributed to him. The Prime Minister, in fact, who in his turn attends to all the practical side of government, could not remain in his place if he were to lose the confidence of the King.

#### CLASS STRUGGLE ELIMINATED

So we have an intelligent, logical, indispensable hierarchy. And not only in this particular. The Fascist corporations, an essential element of the régime, conceived as an antithesis to Socialism both from the political and the economic point of view, are also subjected to a supreme law, the same that governs the whole renewal of Italy, the interests of the nation. "The *Gran Consiglio Fascista*," says another memo-

able declaration, "affirms once more the principles of Fascist syndicalism, adverse to the *a priori* class struggle and, therefore, to forms of proletarian and owners' organizations in open and permanent conflict with one another, to the detriment of production and of the Nation." And speaking to the workmen of Dalmine, Mussolini adds: "I hold that all the factors of production are necessary: capital is necessary, the technical element is necessary, the workers are necessary. Agreement between these three elements gives us social peace; social peace gives continuity of labor; continuity of labor, individual and collective prosperity. Outside of these premises there can be only ruin and misery."

Fascism, therefore, brings about social peace and, in the field of labor, places itself at the head of the nations of the world. H. G. Wells sees Italy destined to become "the industrial ghetto of Europe." But an honest observer notes, instead, the beneficent cessation of the deadly conflicts between labor and capital—a result obtained, not by means of blind violence, but by the creation of legislation which, as soon as it is correctly known, will fill all unprejudiced men with respect and admiration.

Strikes and lockouts are equally prohibited; punitive laws are established both for those employers who suspend production in their establishments, in order to compel their dependents to consent to modifications of the existing labor contracts, and for workmen and employes who throw up their work or execute it in such a way as to retard its progress in order to force their employers to comply with their requests; a discussion between both sides to arrive at an agreement has been made obligatory; a Labor Court has been created, which renders a decision in the State's name when it has been found otherwise impossible to reach an agreement; and finally Fascism announces the creation of a Labor Charter, an imposing code which will regulate the duties and rights of employers and employes, not only in all that concerns labor itself, but also in all that concerns its relations with the nation as a whole.

All that socialism and democracy, notwithstanding their incitations to violence and their rebellions, have never, in any country, not even in Communist Russia, succeeded in attaining, has been attained by Fascism, which places at the very foundation of Italian national life the declaration of solidarity between the various factors of production in the supreme interests of a common country, and elevates labor to the

same honors as were conferred until recently upon capital alone.

In the free England of H. G. Wells, it is true, things are a little different. The last miners' strike, in fact, which lasted for seven long months, besides creating a deep gulf of hatred between workers and owners, raised the *deficit* of the commercial budget to over \$2,000,000,000. But H. G. Wells is a brilliant writer of international celebrity; gifted with an unbridled imagination and accustomed to gaze on distant planets, he probably no longer sees what happens under his own eyes, in his own house.

#### ITALY'S GREATNESS THE GOAL—A PEACEFUL POLICY

I have explained what Fascism is and how it has established itself in Italian life, becoming a substantial part of it. Shall I too, like Mr. Wells, set forth my horoscope for the future? I will try.

Fascism, which, by its peculiar nature, is obliged to construct while it is demolishing, is a great historical experiment, peculiar to Italy, not to be imitated by other nations. Experiments, in all logic, may succeed, but they may also fail. Fascism will not fail. It may be that in its constant search for perfection, it will be still further transformed; it may be that further crises will confront it on its way. But the goal which Fascism has set for itself—the greatness of Italy—will be inevitably attained, because it is not the dream of this or that man, but the firm and ardent aspiration of all young Italy, athirst for the future; a great idea. And great ideas always triumph even when those who are their creators and interpreters err and fail. Under Pompey's statue, Brutus killed Caesar, but not the imperial destiny of Rome.

The Italians will attain greatness for their country while adhering to a peaceful policy if other peoples possessed of greater power and wealth understand their needs: otherwise the question will be decided by the historical destiny of nations, whose will counts far more than that of mortal men, and also more than the catastrophic desires of famous writers of imaginative fiction such as H. G. Wells.

It is not true that Italy is following a warlike policy. Mussolini, in his double character as Head of the Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has signed a greater number of arbitration and peace treaties than the responsible head of any other nation in Europe or in the whole world. As Minister of War, of the Navy and of Aviation, he has not yet asked for

large increases in the budgets of these three Ministries, which prepare the arms, the ships and airplanes needed in war.

It is true that in 1925 Italy counted 1,107,736 births against 668,972 deaths of all ages. But it is also true that she seeks at home the resources needed for her sustenance and for her industries, and, be it said even if it causes great grievance to Mr. Wells, she finds them. There exists, nevertheless, a problem of Italian expansion, which is a world problem, and which is caused precisely by this fertility of the population living in the peninsula. But if this problem is not peaceably resolved the fault will not, in any case, be due to Italy, who has no moral or social obligation to repress this prolific reproduction, which appears to be such a source of worry to the other nations of the world that are poor in man-power and rich in ill-gotten territories.

Italian life is orderly and tranquil. The Italian people accepts all the sacrifices to which it has been subjected with admirable discipline, a spirit quite new in Italy's recent history, but habitual in her glorious past. The acts of violence, which, as I have shown, were necessary at a certain moment, have ceased, and the authority of the Government is, at the desire of its Head, superior to that even of the party in power.

Are there no shadows in this picture? I will frankly admit that there are: but they concern the Italians, their character and their failings, and not malevolent foreigners and writers of catastrophic phantasies. There are also aspects of harshness and severity in relation to certain tendencies and individuals. This, however, is due to the fact that a revolution is not a comic opera, but a national tragedy.

Mussolini, last of all, is neither a tyrant nor an actor, but it is not worth while for me to re-establish his moral and physical features, which H. G. Wells has deliberately

distorted. He is a devoted servant of the nation, who is living and suffering in its marvelous drama of renewal and ascension, which cannot be accomplished without pain and bitter fatigue.

I leave H. G. Wells free to prefer to this solitary "man of destiny," Nitti, the cynically minded statesman who led his country to the brink of the darkest abyss; Sturzo, the intriguing priest who preferred the antechambers of ministers and parliamentary cabals to the service of God; Salvemini, the unreliable historian, who misreads documents on which to base his accusations; Turati, the old romantic demagogue, void of will power and ideals. (Of Forni and Misuri there is no need to speak: they wander about peacefully in the sunny streets of Italy.) As for the dead, let them rest in peace: their assassins have crossed the frontiers and have become the bitterest enemies of that régime, whose bloody mandate they claimed to have executed, but who were inspired, on the contrary, by their own fierce and insincere political fanaticism and cowardice. I do not congratulate H. G. Wells on his identification of the four pitiful creatures mentioned above with the "beautiful minds and liberal souls," driven out by the Fascist musket, and to whom, according to H. G. Wells, the world will still owe great things.

For my part and for my country's part, I prefer, on the contrary, that the world should give its gratitude to all the willing spirits who work and struggle with the ideal of my country in their hearts. Spirits like those of the Fascist Guglielmo Marconi, who, with his genius, flings the spoken word across the endless oceans, and Umberto Nobile and Francesco De Pinedo, Fascists too, who, on the paths of heavenly solitude, elevate and inspire the noble spirit, eager for immense space and sky, of the new youth of Italy!

Rome, Italy, March 10, 1927.





# Russia's New Marriage Code

By VERA DANCHAKOFF, M.D.

A member of the Faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Columbia University)

NO other law of the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics reflects the will of the masses to a greater extent than does the family code which came into operation in January, 1927. It has a peculiar history. Formulated by the People's Commissariat of Justice, it was offered a year ago to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (the Parliament of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) for ratification. It was discussed at length, but neither accepted nor rejected. The law seemed to have originated in the brains of a group of people remote from the actual life of the masses. At the same time it concerned the most intimate human relations, those of husband and wife, of parents and children. Still more than in 1918 the new law did away with all the traditional standards rooted in remote ages as well as with the written law whose relevancy to the actual unwritten law is seldom questioned.

The general public had hardly time to adapt itself to the sweeping changes which the revolution brought into the family relationship as into every other walk of life. Only eight years went by after the law on marriage and the family was framed anew, and the echoes of wide criticism, denunciation and disapproval were not yet dead. Should the foundation of the moral code be shaken again? Should forging a new life forever have as its motto, "Turn everything upside down"? The veil of sanctity was torn from marriage, the religious ceremony ridiculed, the marriage bond snapped in twain and the image of self-sacrificing wife and mother tarnished. "Marry without blessing, get divorced tomorrow, and substitute alimony for father love"—such was the outcry of a great many people.

The new project of the family code went still further. Without rejecting registration it slackened the impetus to go back to it by extending to the *de facto* marriage the financial obligations of the registered ones in equal measure. Without doubt this would rob the intimate relationship between man and woman of its last reserve. Kalinin himself, guided by his sturdy peasant instincts, seemed to doubt the expediency of the new law. No wonder that the delegates to the All-Russian Central Executive

Committee withheld their sanction when the project of the family code was offered over a year ago for their approval. They refused to take the responsibility for adopting the law without a better knowledge of the attitude of their electorate. It was then decided to submit the project to an open discussion in the widest circles.

Since no political principle was directly involved in this code, the discussion went on without reserve. Interest among the great masses of the people was set astir, and members of the Communist Party were free from any restriction in expressing their opinions. For a whole year the code was analyzed and thrashed out in the press, at specially arranged meetings, in factory clubs and in district, city and village Soviets. Careful statistical compilations of resolutions passed by a great variety of meetings were made and served as a basis for a new revision of the law by the People's Commissariat of Justice and by the Council of the People's Commissars.

Once more the project was presented in its modified form to the delegates of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee during its November session. Once more the spirited discussion that developed there prompted a careful reconsideration of each clause and paragraph by a special committee. Further changes in the proposed law resulted with a view to adjusting the ideas of various groups of delegates, still widely divergent. Even the leaders appeared at odds—Krylenko, the State Prosecutor, qualifying the new law as a progressive step toward the ideals of a Communist society; Riasanov, member of the Presidium of the Union's Parliament, as a vulgar anarchist small-bourgeois policy; Solts, Justice of the Supreme Court, as a scheme unavoidably resulting in polygamy; Kursky, People's Commissar of Justice; Vynokurov, President of the Supreme Court; Liejava, Vice President of the Council of the People's Commissars, and others, as a pledge of protection for the woman, the economically weaker partner in marriage. The women delegates were unanimous in approving of the principles of the new law.

The Russian family code, as formulated in 1918, introduced entirely new principles

into the institution of marriage, fundamentally different from those prevailing in the past. This code was based on:

1. Equality of man and woman to contract and dissolve marriage, divorce being granted on application either of both sides or of one of the partners;

2. Equality of man and woman in respect to their mutual financial responsibilities and the support and education of the children;

3. Equality of legal and illegal children.

The law proclaiming equality of the sexes could, however, do no more than proclaim it. The actual conditions of economic inequality between man and woman frustrated the basic purpose of the law. The situation that arose demanded further protection for woman and child.

#### MANY DE FACTO MARRIAGES

In spite of the exclusive recognition of registered marriage by the law of 1918, the number of *de facto* marriages is large. The census in 1923 revealed an excess of admitted marriages as compared to the number of marriages registered in State offices to the extent of the sum total of 70,000 to 100,000. These marriages were not registered, but nevertheless were considered by both partners as marriages. War, revolution and civil wars contributed to the fact that the proportion of women to men grew in Russia to 67 per cent. This made competition between the women keen and conquests of men easy, for there were no more monasteries or religious orders to absorb the surplus of women, nor was the censure of the Church in regard to the *de facto* marriage as potent as formerly. Again, the newly announced freedom seemed to intoxicate the crowds.

The partners in a *de facto* marriage are not equal in regard to the consequences of their relationship. The obvious difference between the two consists in the fact that the woman, because of her being a woman, carries the physiological burden. This difference is further accentuated by the ready discovery of maternity, whereas identification of the father depends much upon his willingness to acknowledge it. An interesting detail of the law is that the mother registers her *de facto* husband as father of her child in the registration office and a notice is given to him by the registrar. Unless he denies parentage, he carries financial obligations toward the child. In the case of his denial, the Court decides. To renounce parentage is easy for the man and always difficult for the woman, fre-

quently leading to crime. For disclaiming his child, unless the Court makes him pay alimony, the man bears no responsibility, but the woman is brought to trial. Actually, wholesale disavowal of parentage by fathers in cases of unregistered unions took place, followed by lawsuits which all too often resulted in useless writs served on the mothers. Finally they had to carry the responsibilities of both parents, although the law fixes a more severe penalty, namely, imprisonment, for nonpayment of alimony than for nonpayment of debts.

In face of this situation it was recognized as far back as three years ago that the family law of 1918 was inadequate, since it failed to protect in a satisfactory manner mother and child in a *de facto* marriage. The People's Commissariat of Justice was entrusted with the revision of the law and its adaptation to actual conditions. In order to make the father financially responsible for his child in a *de facto* marriage the proposed new Family Code extended to the *de facto* marriage the same financial obligations as were accepted in the registered one. This meant recognition of the *de facto* marriage. Formerly the registered marriage alone was endowed with judicial rights; the new code considered registration a formality which, in the case of a controversy, would facilitate protection of woman and child. As evidence by which the Court may recognize a *de facto* marriage the following are among the matters taken into consideration: (1) Living together in one apartment; (2) common household; (3) disclosure of relations before other people; (4) mutual financial support, and so forth. The purpose of both articles was to protect the mother's rights to alimony in a *de facto* marriage. At the same time it was hoped that the number of cases of polygamy might be restricted by compelling the man to support his *de facto* family, while formerly his obligations were limited to the registered one only. Strange as it may seem, this would grant to the man who is successful in making money under the New Economic Policy the peculiar privilege of having two or three families, a kind of redress for depriving him of his political rights.

The revised code contained other new points, as for example: (1) Equal rights of husband and wife in regard to the property acquired together during the marriage period; (2) equal rights of husband and wife to financial support in case of unemployment during a limited time and to a limited extent; (3) restriction of the family members entitled to claim support to the

members of the so-called "narrow family" (parents, children, brothers and sisters). Each point was commented upon and discussed, but it was the proposed recognition of the *de facto* marriage together with the removal of compulsory registration that set astir the most passionate arguments.

Before presenting the Family Code for approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the second time, the Council of the People's Commissars revised and amended the project of the People's Commissariat of Justice. It restricted recognition of the *de facto* marriage to those cases which presented at least three simultaneous characteristics—namely, living together, a common household and the exhibition of marital relationship before other people. There were other changes which the Council of the People's Commissars found it necessary to introduce. The right to family support was again extended to a larger circle of relatives, and the obligation of the peasant household to pay alimony was somewhat limited. The Family Code in both forms was then presented at the general session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for approval. After a long discussion at the general session and reconsideration by a special committee, the revised and amended project became law.

#### DIVIDED OPINIONS

"Crisis of the Government," I overheard the delegates joke among themselves after the work of the committee was completed. This meant approval of the amendments of the Council of the People's Commissars in preference to the original provisions drafted by the People's Commissariat of Justice. The committee itself made a number of changes. Thus registration received a different interpretation from the one advocated by the People's Commissariat of Justice. Registration was qualified now as a State institution established for the sake of protecting the interests of the State and community. The essential point of the new law, however, recognition of the *de facto* marriage, withstood all the phases of discussion and debate. "A law was ratified by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee which is quite different from what was presented for its approval," Solts, Justice of the Supreme Court, quite gratified, said after the session. "Still a step further," was Kry-

lenko's comment, while all the women delegates voted unanimously for the law.

Restriction of recognition of the *de facto* marriage as well as the principle of equalizing the *de facto* and the registered marriage were both sharply criticized. "A servant in our dormitory," I hear Comrad Larin say, "has three children. She is married to a policeman. The children resemble their father in quite a striking manner, but, according to the Council of People's Commissars, the relation between the two people is not marriage. They do not live in the same apartment and have no common household. The only evidence of their marital state is that they consider themselves husband and wife. The Council of Commissars objects, however: 'You need two more points that your relationship be recognized as marriage.' The servant says: 'I have two children growing up,' but the Council says: 'No, you are a single woman.'" On the other hand, equalizing the *de facto* and the registered marriage aroused no less criticism: "Magnificent gesture of the bourgeois-anarchistic personality," I heard a delegate characterize this policy. And yet mother and child claim protection in over 100,000 *de facto* marriages.

The prime motive of recognition of the *de facto* marriage must be regarded as protection of mother and child, for no other judicial rights, except financial support, are extended by the law to the two partners in a *de facto* marriage: neither exception from draft for the man, nor the ballot privilege and membership in housing associations for the woman housekeeper. By extending the financial obligations to the *de facto* marriage the law tends to reduce their numbers by warning the man. By establishing advantages in a registered marriage the law invites the woman to register. By restricting recognition of the *de facto* marriage the law makes a concession to the more conservative elements, invalidating in part its prime motive and giving opportunity for abuse. The present form of the Family Code, as everybody seems to admit in Russia, is only a phase in its development. A great many details should be judged in the perspective of local conditions. The law specifies to a very small extent, and prohibits even less. It is an elastic law, and only crystallization of public opinion based on general progress will decide its adequacy to meet the problems and conditions of life itself.



# The Myth of Japanese Efficiency

By RODERICK O. MATHESON

*Mr. Matheson, after several years as managing editor of the Honolulu Advertiser, went to Japan in 1917 where, with a Japanese editor, he became joint publisher and editor of the Japan Times. Living in a Japanese house and mastering the language, and by extensive travel throughout the Far East, he gained the knowledge upon which he bases the strictures contained in this article. Because of what might be regarded as its bias the editor invited a reply by a distinguished Japanese publicist which follows Mr. Matheson's article.*

THE greatest myth of the world today, born from the smoke of one war and given semblance of substance in another, is the belief entertained around the globe that Japan is a Great Power. Nowhere does that myth have greater credence than in Japan itself.

As a matter of cold fact, Japan as a Great Power is a hollow bubble, blown almost to the bursting point. For any purpose other than home defense against any one of the really Great Powers represented on the Pacific, the military strength of Japan is largely imaginary. The Emperor has a standing army of between 150,000 and 200,000 men, the exact figure being a military secret. Of trained reserves there are a maximum of about two million, a formidable potential force so far as figures on paper go, but almost a mob for practical purposes. Japan has not the arms to put one-half of her reserves in the field nor the resources to maintain a great army on any distant front. Great Britain, the only other island Power, had immense colonies to draw upon for food and highly developed manufactures at home when she plunged into the World War. She had friendly or strictly neutral neighbors to buy from. She had command of the sea upon all the oceans. She had wealth and practically unlimited credit. Yet the British went upon short rations and strained their manufacturing resources.

Japan, in any war upon the Pacific, could control only the waters around her coast. She has no great colonies, none at all of any consequence except Korea and Formosa. Korea is almost openly rebellious. Formosa is far from loyal, thanks to the policy of repression that has crushed under a bureaucratic fist every feeble attempt on the part of the Chinese majority of that island to secure even a semblance of local autonomy. China, Japan's nearest neighbor, and the land from whence Japan would have to import food or face starvation, is frankly anti-

Japanese. Russia, her only other neighbor, might assist with supplies, but would also certainly seize the opportunity of fomenting internal trouble to upset another imperial throne. The paper strength of the Japanese navy is impressive, but when one considers the lack of natural and financial resources behind the fighting ships the realization comes that no Japanese fleet can operate effectively except close to its bases. As a raiding force the fleet is powerful; as an aggressive force for distant operations the fleet is weak to the point of uselessness.

What robs the Japanese army and the Japanese navy of their impressiveness to those who know the Japanese people is the knowledge that the people of Japan, viewed from the Western standpoint, are individually inefficient, slow to learn, lacking in initiative and unable to function without leadership. Coupled with all this is an inordinate conceit and a recently cultivated stubborn refusal to accept any fundamentally new idea. There are, of course, brilliant exceptions, some of whom have been high in authority. Because of the leadership exercised by these few men Japan has reached her present status. One of the great men of the world, a really great man, was the late Emperor Meiji, who began to rule over Japan at the time when the Western nations were hammering at her gates and who occupied the throne until 1912. It was Meiji and the small circle of advisers he was wise enough to select who created modern Japan. But no progress has been made since Meiji's death; rather, there has been retrogression in many ways.

With the passing of Meiji and the aging or death of his closest advisers, who had been for the most part educated in Europe and America, came the idea in Japan that no further assistance from abroad was required. Foreign advisers in governmental departments were dropped, with two or three exceptions; foreign technical advisers in manufactures were dismissed; the Scotch

engineers on steamships and the British captains of Japanese liners were given discharge bonuses and told they were no longer needed. In every line the foreigners were weeded out, while the Japanese were encouraged more and more to buy Japanese goods whenever possible and through Japanese importers, where foreign goods had to be purchased. The outbreak of the World War, just at the time this movement to dispense with foreign aid was getting well under way, accelerated the national plan and convinced the Japanese that they had acted wisely. In the four years of the world stress, when every manufacturing nation was at death grips with its neighbor, Japanese manufactures grew by leaps and bounds. Wages doubled and quadrupled; war millionaires set unheard of examples of extravagance; money poured into the country until a trade balance of \$700,000,000 piled up between 1914 and 1918. With work plentiful and wages high and with an urgent demand from abroad for almost anything that could be produced, prices at home went skyward, the cost of living doubled and all standards soared.

#### DURING THE DEPRESSION

Then came the lean years of post-war depression. America, Great Britain and nearly every other country faced the situation logically, cut their losses, readjusted their industrial position, went through the labor turmoil and emerged. Japan was afraid to follow suit and even today is still attempting to carry on without readjustment. Foreign trade in manufactured goods fell away. Instead of using the war-sent opportunity to acquire and clinch new markets, the Japanese turned out shoddy wares, crammed their ships with goods below the standards of the samples on which they received orders and greedily seized every dollar in sight without thought of the aftermath. The result was that foreign customers turned back to the markets of Great Britain, America, Germany, France and other countries as soon as they were in a position again to fill orders. The result was that the new Japanese plants came almost to a standstill. Since 1918 Japan has been living on her war surplus. Wages continue high. Few attempts have been made to promote efficiency among workmen and almost invariably such attempts have been stubbornly resisted by the men, with sabotage, strikes and personal violence against employers. Statesmanship has failed, and expedient after expedient is being resorted to, with compromise following compromise.

Rarely is any issue arising out of the continued business depression squarely faced and met.

Labor has fed upon successes, one of the greatest of which has been the securing of manhood suffrage, and is marching on toward syndicalism. Capital is daily dwindling. The \$700,000,000 war surplus has been swallowed up in the adverse trade balance since 1919, amounting on Jan. 1, 1927, to a debit total of \$1,300,000,000. Unearned dividends have been paid out of surpluses and, when surpluses vanished, in some cases dividends are paid by way of overdrafts, with high wages maintained in the same convenient way. Last year the foreign trade balance against Japan was about \$175,000,000, in spite of a 100 per cent. tariff recently imposed upon all foreign "luxuries" and a persistent local propaganda for the people to use Japanese goods. Lacking foreign leadership in manufacturing and spurning foreign advice and suggestions in marketing, exports have dwindled in very many lines. For the fiscal year 1924-25, Japan's total exports were valued at \$900,000,000, of which the value of two items alone, silk and cottons, amounted to more than \$800,000,000. In no line did Japan manufacture for export goods to the value of \$20,000,000 except in cotton, in which class of goods Japan was the manufacturing middleman, because of her labor-exploiting laws, permitting the working of girls on two eleven-hour shifts a day, despite the international agreement to the contrary.

With luxurious tastes and a small income, with labor that is inefficient and highly paid, with capital almost exhausted and with a foreign trade dependent upon the United States, China and India, both for markets and for a bulk of raw materials used, Japan is financially unable to go to war with any maritime Power. No victory, even were one possible, could help her; defeat would spell her doom as even a second-class Power and might, in the present temper of the people, even upset the Government and produce anarchy bloodier than anything the world has yet experienced.

The fighting efficiency of the Japanese is yet to be proved. The nation won two wars on its own account and took a minor part in the World War on the side of the victorious Allies. The first war was with China in 1895, when the Chinese failed to make a stand in a single pitched battle and surrendered even so strong a position as Port Arthur after one day's assault. In the second war, with Russia, the Japanese were again uniformly successful on land and sea.

The history of that war, however, shows that the Russian army was honeycombed with corruption. The soldiers of the Czar, stupid peasants for the most part, fought with ammunition that was two-thirds "dud" and were fed by a quartermaster department more interested in padding accounts and overweighing supplies than in getting food to the army. Japan's share in the World War consisted in forcing the surrender of the relatively small garrison at Tsingtao, the holding or loss of which was immaterial to the Germans, and in performing patrol and convoy work. Japan did well in her small share in the war. Her sons faced the Russians gallantly, for the first time in modern history an Asiatic race defeating a European nation, and in the war with China the Japanese demonstrated their right to be known as the military leaders of the Asian continent. But on no battlefield and in no campaign have the Japanese demonstrated that they are the equal of the troops of any of the European Powers who fought along the Western front.

No army raised through conscription can be above the rank and file of the people from whom it is conscripted. The personnel of no navy, filled through conscription, can be above the average of its nation. Ability to think in emergencies and a spirit of initiative cannot be conferred upon a man through putting him in uniform. The average Japanese is a slow thinker and as an individualist is almost a total loss. In Japan, conscripts drafted into the army and navy are even below the national average. University and college youths are exempted from conscription. Youths of special ability in any line are kept out of the ranks through the influences of employers. The ranks are filled yearly by those able-bodied boys who can be withdrawn from civil life with the least disturbance, and they are, naturally, not the best of their years.

#### A PEOPLE WITHOUT INITIATIVE

The whole political and social structure of Japan is founded upon obedience. All must obey the Emperor, to question whose divinity is treason. The Emperor is the supreme head of the national family. Under him the heads of the clans, then the heads of the individual families, must be obeyed. In government, in school, in business, in politics, in army and navy, initiative is not only not favored, but is consistently eliminated by training. Originality of thought or method is frowned upon by teachers, discouraged by employers, hounded by police and disciplined sternly by commanders. The

result is a nation that has to be told what to do and when to do it, a people that can work only in gangs, cheer only in chorus, think only in mass. Except upon the two or three long-established national holidays, which have become a habit, no Japanese house or shop displays a flag for special occasions until after the police have paid house-to-house visits and instructed the people to rejoice. The police tell the people when to have their regular Spring and Fall housecleanings, and visit the houses afterward to see that the cleaning has been done. They tell the people when to swat flies, when to be careful about fires, when to change from Winter clothes to Summer wear and innumerable other little things of everyday life, thus keeping the people entirely disinclined to do their own thinking.

The great earthquake of 1923 threw a large section of Japan into complete anarchy. All means of communication vanished within a few minutes. Authority was blotted out and the people, frenzied by the destruction wrought by nature, lost their heads. For a time there was none to give orders, no power from above to restrain natural passions, and hopeless confusion reigned. It was ten hours before any troops were moved in Tokyo to assist the fire-fighters or help maintain order, although ten regiments, including the crack Imperial Guard division, are garrisoned in the city. It was thirty-six hours before a naval vessel appeared in Yokohama harbor, although the great Yokosuka naval base, with a hundred vessels, large and small, and 20,000 blue-jackets, is within half a day's march or one hour's steaming of the port. The earthquake demonstrated what Japan is when things do not follow their accustomed groove. Inflamed by wild rumors, the people turned savages, and a thousand Koreans and an unknown number of Chinese and Japanese, scattered throughout the earthquake zone, were murdered, many to the accompaniment of torture, while in Tokyo the police and gendarmes rounded up the known radicals and executed them by lynch law.

Japan is a land of red tape, with rules and regulations for everything, from wireless telegraphy to prostitution. Should a business man desire a telephone, for instance, for his shop or residence, he must file a formal application with the proper Government bureau, giving full particulars regarding himself. If he is in what passes for a hurry in Japan, he encloses from \$400 to \$500 with his application, as a premium for speed, and if he is lucky he gets his in-



strument installed in from five to seven months. If he desires to wait for his turn on the list of applicants, his telephone will reach him in from six to seven years. If he desires to move his shop or home and take his telephone with him, he must file another formal application, accompanying it with \$10. This application must carry the seal of the owner of the house from which the telephone is to be moved, the seal of the owner of the place where it is to be moved to and must also set forth a reason, satisfactory to the bureau chief, explaining why the instrument is to be moved. The actual moving, after an inspector has visited and on the spot inspected the telephone and also visited and inspected the place where it is going, is done by a foreman and two workmen, and a job that an American could do in twenty minutes invariably takes the three Japanese upward of half a day. The Japanese cannot hurry, will not take short cuts and are opposed to working alone. Railway navvies tamping ties always work in gangs of three or four, all lifting their picks together at the word of command and holding these poised aloft until another command, when the picks swing down together.

To enforce all the endless rules whereby the Japanese people move and act, great armies of officials have to be employed, the majorities on meager salaries that make petty graft almost inevitable. Daily tons of paper are consumed for the making out of reports on all kinds of subjects, filled with unessential details, the very voluminousness of such reports making them useless. The work of gathering meaningless information regarding the people is duplicated over and over. The Japanese patiently and unquestioningly relate their life's history to official after official, while the resident or traveling foreigner grows exasperated as he fills in the police blanks with details as to his age, birthplace, name of father and maiden name of mother, matrimonial status and his "relation with your family," which means whether he is first-born, an adopted child, the head of his own family or one of those who take their orders from an elder relative. This matter of filling in blanks takes place at every hotel one stops at, every time one moves from one police district into another, every time a guest stays for more than a day or two at one's home. Every separate police station has its own records, which are never interchanged. If a traveler arrives from China he is examined by the immigration officials and harbor police at Shimonoseki, the first port of call. Here he answers such ponderous questions as "Why are you

traveling?" "Why did you come to Japan?" "When are you leaving?" "Why are you leaving?" Successfully running this gauntlet, the traveler in a few hours reaches his next Japanese port, Kobe, but here again he must fill in blanks and answer questions, because the Kobe harbor police have nothing to do with the Shimonoseki police. And so it goes on at Yokohama, Tokyo, only fifty minutes from Yokohama, and every other stopping place.

#### OVERMANNED SERVICES

Such procedure requires many police, and this may account for the system. There are so many people in Japan and so few necessary positions that what there are must be overmanned a thousand per cent. and many unnecessary positions created to provide for all the sons and grandsons and nephews of everybody with influence. Offices, banks, stores and government bureaus are invariably so cluttered up with assistants that real work on the part of anyone is made almost impossible. A small, branch postoffice, for instance, where all the work could be easily done by two efficient clerks, has one to sell stamps, one to sell post-office orders, one to register letters, one to cash postoffice orders, one to make up reports of stamps sold, one to copy the reports in the official book, one to sort and deliver the mail sent to the branch and some half a dozen others with unspecified positions, whose occupation appears to be to talk to the particular clerk required when some member of the mere public appears at the wicket.

The convenience of the general public is the last thing taken into consideration by authority. If, for example, someone should drown in any one of the hundreds of canals in Tokyo, the body cannot be taken out of the water until a policeman is summoned. and no policeman hurries. If this officer should see that the body had floated in the meanwhile to the other side of the canal, he will not touch it, but will send for a policeman with jurisdiction on the other bank. The writer once watched two police arguing over a body floating in the middle of a canal, with head in one precinct and feet in the other, while a gaping crowd stood around. Finally the two reached the conclusion that neither should touch the corpse but that the water police should be sent for. The water police arrived several hours later, delayed because their launch could not navigate the smaller canals until high tide, and, of course, no water police could travel except by water.



The Japanese never drive horses, but walk and lead them, and almost invariably their beasts are overworked. The underlying idea is that as long as a horse can move a load on the level it should be able to move it uphill, and if it proves unwilling a few kicks in the ribs or a few twists to a rope around the tender upper lip should teach it not to be stubborn. Children as beasts of burden are treated almost as well as horses. Policemen watch with amusement when horses are beaten for falling down under loads they plainly cannot move. Stray dogs caught by official dog-catchers are tied up in the public street and beaten to death with clubs. The average Japanese will not kill an animal, because the taking of life is forbidden by Buddha, but they have no compunction about leaving a litter of blind kittens to starve or freeze to death, or of turning a horse with a broken leg into the highway to suffer and die. Looking after street accidents is the job of the police and interference, such as giving first aid, would be sternly rebuked. So the street crowds simply step over a sufferer on the sidewalk and let him lie until a policeman arrives to enter a careful report in his notebook before he sends for an ambulance.

Just as animals and children are overworked, so is machinery. That a machine can be loaded beyond the point of economical efficiency has not yet occurred to the average Japanese engineer. If a one-ton truck can be made to carry two tons the owner believes he is the gainer, while his truck breaks down long before its natural life. The street car systems in all the larger cities of Japan are constantly losing money, although a car not loaded to double its designed capacity is never seen, and in Tokio cars designed to carry 70 passengers are jammed for at least half of every day with from 200 to 300. The extra fares, however, do not cover the losses through the rapid wearing out of the mechanism and electrical parts due to the overload. American engineers state confidentially that much of the fine American machinery installed and being installed in the great hydroelectric plants throughout Japan, purchased through loans floated in New York, will be worn out and useless long before the loan bonds have matured, simply because the Japanese engineers will not maintain the plants properly.

Yet the Japanese people are taught that they are the superiors of any white race. Through purchase of patents or through patent piracy, Japanese plants are now producing imitations in machinery, electrical

apparatus and such that outwardly resemble the products of foreign plants. These Japanese imitations, marked with Japanese ideograms, are taken throughout the country as the original products of Japan. Off the beaten track foreigners are frequently asked by the Japanese if in America or England there are such conveniences as electric lights, street cars and telephones.

With the exception of a few achievements in bacteriology, medicine and seismology, Japan has given nothing to the world. This, however, does not limit the claims of her press. Recently it was solemnly announced that the Imperial Aviation Society of Japan had voted to confer a medal upon the Japanese inventor of the first airplane. It was explained that this man had submitted a suggestion to the War Department during the Russo-Japanese war, twenty-two years ago, to the effect that machines that could fly would help wipe out the Muscovites. The War Department listened but did not act. The inventor had not actually flown his proposed machine, the press explained, but had worked it out on paper and was convinced that it would have flown had the War Department taken it up. Therefore a Japanese invented the airplane and no great credit need be given further to Langley or the Wright Brothers for only copying the Japanese idea. Again, when it was reported that Japan proposed to lift her tariff and license embargo against German dyes and in exchange Germany was willing to impart to Japan her secret process for the extraction of fixed nitrogen from the air, through which process Japan would have an independent source of nitrates for fertilizer and for the manufacture of explosives, the Minister of Commerce denied the report, saying that Japan did not have to go to Germany for any ideas in chemistry, that in Japan a new and better process of extracting fixed nitrogen had been worked out, and that though the process had not been tested practically it would work. Rarely a week passes without some Japanese discovering something great and wonderful, and the fact that the same discoveries have all been made and announced in other lands years before is never mentioned.

#### LITERATE BUT UNTHINKING

Although over 99 per cent. of all Japanese can read and write and although Japan has hundreds of daily newspapers, some with circulations upward of a million daily, the people are kept in a state of woeful ignorance concerning the conditions in Japan as compared with those elsewhere. This ac-

counts in large part for the conceit of the Japanese as a race. They are taught that they are superior in brains and valor, and the daily, weekly and monthly publications that flood the land confirm this in every issue. The Japanese are not taught to think, nor allowed to think. Recently when the stir of new ideas in practically every land reached Japan, strict orders were issued by the Department of Education that no student in high school, college or university should be allowed to belong to any club or association formed to study social conditions or discuss political subjects, and that rule is sternly enforced. University teachers who diverge from their official textbooks to discuss live subjects are hastily disciplined, discharged or imprisoned. No woman in Japan is allowed to attend a meeting for political discussion. At labor gatherings there are invariably on the platform for every speaker two policemen, who interrupt at any suggestion of liberalism and hustle the speakers away to jail as they see fit. No free discussion on labor questions is allowed, the result being a turning of labor toward that form of government which is described by the propagandists as "the peasants' and workers' paradise."

The Japanese people do not know how backward they really are. They are inefficient and happy in being so, and this self-complacency is putting the nation further and further in the rear of the first-class Powers, one of which they believe themselves to be. Foreign visitors in Japan, seeing what the country has accomplished under Meiji and comparing Japan with China, India, Burma and other Oriental countries, in nearly every case become enthusiastic over the cleverness of the Japanese people. In speech and interview they spread their praise with a trowel, and the Japanese accept this as a proper tribute to their greatness. Such travelers, failing to see beneath the surface, repeat their praise of Japanese progress and modernity where-

ever they go, deceiving the world because they themselves are deceived. But the foreigner who has lived long in the country knows the Japanese as they actually are. They are lovable, courteous, artistic and kindly, but they muddle along as best they know how under the restrictions nature and their rulers have placed upon them; they can follow the rules they have been taught in industry and warfare, but are lost and confused the moment the rules are not adhered to. In industry they do what they have been taught to do; in warfare they would, perforce, do the same.

#### JAPAN'S WAR CHANCES

If a war in which Japan should be engaged were fought according to the textbooks on strategy and tactics Japan would have a good chance, but if the rival commander, on sea or land, introduced something new, as the Germans did with their poison gas and the British did with their tanks, no Japanese commander could adjust himself, nor could he rally his troops from the confusion into which they would be thrown. Japanese fighting men have proved their courage in successive victories; their courage under a preliminary defeat is yet to be shown. They have demonstrated their fighting prowess against poorer trained and slower thinking people; they have yet to meet a nation that can out-think them, as can every other nation today ranking as a first-class Power. Those who know the Japanese do not believe they could stand up in any vital test of the kind, except in defense of their homeland, when they could fight on their own terms on a terrain they know thoroughly and for the land they love. As a menace to any country of any fighting consequence, Japan does not exist. As a first-class Power, Japan is a myth. The sooner this fact is recognized, the sooner will all talk of war with Japan die away, to the betterment of the world and to the betterment of Japan.

## A Reply

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American Correspondent of the Tokio *Nichi-Nichi* and the Osaka *Mainichi*

THE article by Mr. Matheson is of the kind which will do Japan good, for the Japanese, despite the national metamorphosis they have accomplished in fifty short years, are still eager to learn from foreigners, to see themselves as the for-

eigner sees them. Few nations have turned to foreign criticism and foreign influence so sensitive a front as has Japan, and that is one of the secrets of her progress, modest yet without a parallel in the world's history. The fact that she has of late

dropped most of her foreign advisers and assistants is no indication that she is becoming conceited. Paying high tribute to the Americans and Europeans who assisted her in the early days of her new era, Japan nevertheless realizes her mistake in retaining foreign advisers who cannot advise and foreigner assistants who cannot assist. She has reached a discriminating stage; she knows now how to distinguish adventurers from advisers.

Japan's advancement today is not at the same pace as that which characterized her progress up to, say, twenty years ago. In the nature of things it cannot be. This is not because, as Mr. Matheson says, Japan has dropped foreign advisers. Far from it. When she opened her doors to international intercourse she had to start everything anew as far as the importation of Western civilization was concerned. Indeed, she had resolved upon a wholesale national renovation. Naturally, her progress or change in those days was phenomenal, even spectacular. But no nation could, or should, keep up such a pace indefinitely. Having reached a certain stage of advancement, Japan no longer needed to travel at such a high speed. Nevertheless, she is still eager to seek knowledge throughout the world. Few nations send forth so many students and observers to foreign countries as does Japan. Government departments and banks and business houses and schools vie with one another in securing fresh knowledge from abroad. Even a newspaper, the *Osaka Mainichi*, for instance, sends out every year four or five men on its staff to Europe and America, not to write for it, but simply to observe and study as best they can.

#### JAPAN'S POLICY OF PEACE

The burden of Mr. Matheson's article seems to be the assertion that, because of Japanese inefficiency, war between Japan and America or Great Britain is unthinkable. The conclusion is right, but the reasoning wrong. I myself most firmly believe, as does every sensible, enlightened Japanese, that Japan will never wage an offensive war. But the reason for this belief is something far more important than her inefficiency, real or fancied. The reason lies in her faith in the new order and new ideals that have dawned upon the world, as well as in her belief that, given patience and good temper on both sides, there is no issue between herself and her neighbors which cannot be solved through the amicable process of mutual concession.

Japan is efficient in her own way, not

in the American way. It is wrong to argue that, because we do not do things in the same way as the Americans do, we are inefficient. The essential thing is that we seem to get to our goal somehow. Remember that few other nations do things as the Americans do. America, through fortunate circumstances peculiar to herself, has become a nation *par excellence*, materially if not spiritually. Remember also that the machine age—the age of electricity, of steam, of multitudinous mechanical contrivances—is still young in Japan. She cannot be as efficient as America or Great Britain in such matters. But she is learning and she will “get there” in her own way. The important thing is her determination.

One is liable not to see the wood for the trees. One can understand a nation the more correctly by taking a detached view. Mere enumeration of Japan's foibles and weaknesses does not make a true picture of Japan. Are we to believe that America is going to the dogs because of the primary election corruptions in Chicago and Philadelphia, because of her bootleg traffic, because of increasing divorces, because of her jazzing, joyriding, flapping youths, and because of her filibustering Senate? There must be something fundamentally sound in a nation whose credit seemed hopelessly shattered by an unprecedented earthquake disaster three years ago, but which has re-established itself so rapidly that its bonds raised in America at a great discount are now above par. The yen, which sank so low as 37 cents, is now earning par (about 50 cents).

The “old hands” in Japan frequently play the erring rôle of Cassandra. I recall discussing with foreign journalists in Tokyo the possibility of inaugurating manhood suffrage in Japan. They were emphatic that the Japanese did not care for parliamentary government and would never adopt manhood suffrage. Only five years later Japan did adopt manhood suffrage. I am not saying that the conditions in Japan are satisfactory. They are unsatisfactory, but the fact that the Japanese know better than the foreigners that they are unsatisfactory is a sure sign that their future is secure. Let the prophets of woe recall the England of Samuel Johnson and John Wesley. England showed every sign of decay and degeneration, morally, politically and socially. Yet in due course she became the mistress of the world. Japan's condition today is infinitely sounder than that of England a century ago. She may yet become the Britain of the East.



# French Problems in Indo-China

By FOSTER RHEA DULLES

**R** E P O R T S from Indo-China during the past few months of irregularities in the granting of concessions for the agricultural and commercial development of the country aroused the French Parliament on March 20 to demand an investigation of Indo-Chinese affairs and the activities of Alexandre Varenne, the colony's Socialist Governor General. Political expediency caused Premier Poincaré to make the question of allowing the Government a free hand in its Far Eastern dependency one of confidence and the motion to send a commission of inquiry to the colony was sidetracked, but the fact remains that the fifteen months' régime of the Socialist Viceroy has not been one of entire tranquillity, and France is faced with new colonial problems on the shores of the Pacific.

The immediate reason for an Indo-Chinese investigation arises from the operation of a decree of Sept. 19, 1926, regularizing the conditions under which concessions could be granted throughout the country. Several thousand hectares of land had been leased rather indiscriminately by the various local Governments during the year, and the ensuing confusion because of different rules and regulations and the necessity of protecting both the individual French colonist and the natives caused the Governor General to lay down definite stipulations to apply to all concessions. Only French subjects or corporations in which the majority of stock was held by French could be given land, a limit of 15,000 hectares [one hectare equals nearly 2½ acres] was set for any individual or corporation, and the Governor General reserved the right to pass upon all applications for over 1,000 hectares. Apparently this system did not prove satisfactory. Complaints drifted back to Paris and the Right wing of the Chamber of Deputies demanded an investigation of the "scandals."

Behind this move for an inquiry on concessions, however, may be

seen the complete distrust of the conservative elements in French politics for the entire régime of the Socialist Governor General. They fear that M. Varenne is prejudicing France's position in Indo-China and their fear goes back to the first speech he made upon his arrival. On Dec. 21, 1925, he told the Superior Council at Saigon that when France had accomplished her mission of civilization in Indo-China "it may be believed that she will leave only the memory of her work; that she will no longer claim any rôle in the life of the peninsula, neither to direct nor even to counsel, and that the peoples who have profited by her tutelage



Map of French Indo-China, showing the five provinces into which it is divided—Cochin-China, Cambodia, Laos, Annam and Tonking, and also Kwang Chau Wan, the leased territory on the Chinese coast



will no longer have any ties with France other than those of gratitude and affection."

It took more than a month for the report of this speech to reach France, but it then roused an immediate storm and none of M. Varenne's subsequent explanations or subsequent acts could erase from conservative French minds the impression that the Socialist Governor General was going to give away one of France's richest colonies. His immediate recall was demanded by the extremists, the group of *l'Union Républicaine* in the Senate introduced a motion to ask for explanation, and he was supported only by the Socialists, who had paradoxically dismissed him from the party because he

vociferous nationalist group—which exists in Indo-China as much as in any country subject to foreign domination—had hailed him as a Messiah upon his arrival, but quickly lost their enthusiasm when this nebulous expression of sympathy for national aspirations was followed by his statement emphasizing those parts of his speech dwelling on the ties between the two countries. Almost immediately the Governor General found himself in the position of suppressing the agitation which was the inevitable reaction to native disappointment.

A strike broke out in a girls' school because the students were not allowed to wear



A typical village in the interior of Indo-China

had accepted the post of Eastern Viceroy in violation of Socialist principles. Advised of the furor he had stirred up at home, M. Varenne tried to explain himself. "After having envisaged the distant hypothesis, often formulated before me by certain of my predecessors of Indo-China's being one day separated politically from France," he said, "I expressed my opinion that the conviction became stronger in my mind every day that indissoluble ties bound the two countries which would never permit them to separate."

The criticized passage in his speech had awakened neither emotion nor comment in Indo-China, according to the Governor General. Nevertheless a representative of the French colonials, unimpressed by his modifying statement, left Saigon almost immediately to demand his recall by the authorities at home. Among the natives the effect was quite different. The small but

mourning for a nationalist leader who had just died. It quickly spread to other schools and eventually to some of the industrial groups. At the same time the communistic elements to be found everywhere in the Far East took advantage of the situation and Paris was horrified to learn of Soviet "cells" which were reported to be widespread among the natives and sowing hatred of French rule. All in all there was little real disorder, and the movement died down after M. Varenne upheld the Minister of Public Instruction in forbidding political demonstrations in the schools. Nevertheless, what disturbances there had been simply added fuel to the campaign against the Governor General on the theory that it was his speeches and his attitude that were responsible for the prevalent unrest.

Assailed then by conservatives at home and unpopular among the natives in Indo-China, M. Varenne went slowly ahead



Wide World Photos

## KING KHAI-DINH OF ANNAM

working on moderate reforms. Toward the end of his first year in office, on Sept. 20, 1926, he again spoke of the position of Indo-China. In words which might have been borrowed from General Leonard Wood in the Philippines he reminded the Annamites desirous of independence that there were "on the soil of this great empire other races and other people to whom we have promised protection" who were not ready for self-government. He warned them of the danger of Indo-China breaking up into separate countries or being swallowed by some other Power if France should ever withdraw her protection, and he pointed out that under the French régime prosperity and

order had become the rule. "Nothing," he declared, "is opposed to France continuing her work in Indo-China."

Does France face in her Far Eastern colony the problems which the United States faces in the Philippines and Great Britain in India? Whatever his real attitude, this seems to be the question which M. Varenne has brought up, and it is because of this that the Nationalists in France are opposed to his continuing in office. He has raised the spectre of an independent Indo-China



Wide World Photos

## KING SISOWATH OF CAMBODIA



On the porch of a native hut in Cambodia

which was a new apparition in French eyes. Is it real?

The French possessions are made up of five States—the colony of Cochin-China and the protectorates of Annam, Tonkin, Laos and Cambodia—whose combined area of 256,878 square miles makes them slightly larger than France and more than twice the size of the Philippines. Her 19,122,000 inhabitants are of at least five distinct races of Mongolian and Malayo-Polynesian blood, with a culture which varies from the Chinese civilization of the Annamites to the semi-savage state of the Moi, who do not know the use of money, hunt with poison arrows and wear practically no clothing. One of the most interesting of these ethnic groups is the Cambodians, descendants of the ancient Khmers whose great Hindu civilization has left such amazing monuments in the ruins of Angkor. Another is the Cham, whose ancestors also established a far-reaching Eastern empire, but whose claim to distinction today is that they are Mohammedans in the midst of a great Buddhist country. The fifth group is made up of the Lao, who are closely related to the Siamese.

Tonking is the largest of the States with 6,884,000 inhabitants, followed by Annam with 4,945,000, Cochin-China with 3,864,000, Cambodia with 2,403,000 and Laos with 819,000. The latest official census, that of 1921, divides this total population into 7,847,000 Annamese; 6,095,000 Tonkingese; 2,320,000 Cambodians; 560,000 Chinese and 2,278,000 of other races. There are in the whole country only 20,258 French, of whom more than three quarters live in Tonking and Cochin-China, and 876 other foreigners. The separate provincial entity of Kouang-Tcheou-Wan has 207,000 native inhabitants and 165 French.

Except at the ports and the few other centres of French civilization there is little evidence of the alien in Indo-China except for the 27,000 miles of remarkable roads which the French engineers have cut through the jungle or built up on embankments through the low-lying and flooded



A family of natives of Cambodia, one of the provinces of French Indo-China



rice fields. The villager of the interior leads a life of extreme simplicity and a hot and fertile country supplies him with most of his wants, while through some unexplained process of nature the energy and the initiative which enabled him in the past, despite his environment, to build up a great civilization have almost entirely disappeared. The Cambodian, for example, has no love of work, and with bamboo forests ready to give him the means of shelter, rice easy to grow and the most prolific rivers in the

capital of Cochinchina, tells a different story. Quite rightly called the Paris of the East because of its shaded boulevards, its opera house, its shops and its cafés, it is as different from the interior as the character of the French colonial is from that of the half-savage Moi. The natives who have been attracted to the city with its great Chinese and foreign population differ almost as much from their brothers in the interior. Many of them are educated and cultured; more of them have taken over the



An Indo-Chinese native ruler hunting wild ducks on the lotus-covered lake which forms part of the preserves

world at his door, he sees little necessity for it. He is not yet awake to any of our Western demands for comfort and luxury, there is no overpopulation to make the struggle for life difficult, and certainly political considerations bother him little.

On the trip from Saigon to the ruins of Angkor, almost 500 miles through the rice fields and jungles of Cambodia, one passes through but one section where French influence may be seen to any real extent. Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, has all the aspects of a French provincial town; otherwise there is nothing along that long road but little groups of thatched huts on the edge of the jungle or built upon stilts in the paddy fields where half-clothed natives lead lazy, desultory lives beneath the burning sun.

Saigon, the chief port of Indo-China and

habits of the West, with their primitive character unchanged. As in other colonies, a little education has had the effect of causing the natives to believe that they are capable of self-government, without realizing their own limitations and entirely forgetting the vast masses of people who have had no political education at all and whose untroubled lives in the native villages have never led them to think of national aspirations.

France's manner of obtaining sovereignty over these people was one of out-and-out conquest. Missionary enterprises led to her first interest in the country, and during the international race for overseas possessions in the last decades of the nineteenth century Indo-China offered the best field for French expansion in the East. Requests on the part of native rulers for protection



against their rivals and the timely killing of some missionaries gave her the opportunity she sought. By 1885 the entire country was in her hands after a series of brief and rather inglorious military campaigns. A centralized government was formed along the usual French lines. Although nominally "Residents" were sent to the native courts, actually the protectorates were governed as directly as the colony of Cochin-China. A Governor General responsible to the Minister of Colonies in Paris was appointed, with a Superior Council to assist him, and a large staff of French officials was organized to fill almost all the Government posts. This system has changed but little, and it is only today that some effort is being made to decentralize the Government and to allot to native assemblies some power in local affairs.

The French policy in governing these people has been one of "associations," carried rather far according to Anglo-Saxon opinion, as reports indicate there are some 40,000 Eurasians, in comparison with 20,000 French—and the Minister of Colonies has recently declared that France's aim is a blending of French and Indo-Chinese culture. With this end in view, both French and *Quoc-ngu*, the written and spoken language of Indo-China, are taught in the 4,800 elementary schools, and at the other end of the educational ladder it is hoped by the French that the University at Hanoi may become a great centre of French and Indo-Chinese intellectual life, attracting students from all over the East. The French have been extremely tolerant of all native institutions and, as in their other colonies,

sympathetic to the religion of the people, in this case Buddhism.

The slight nationalist movement which has affected this country is confined entirely to the cities. There are perhaps five hundred malcontents, according to one authority, and even this number will be reduced if the reforms which are now being considered are successfully put into operation. The Indo-Chinese have never been led to expect independence, nor does the state of political education in the interior, as I have stated, make it likely that the natives would understand such terms as foreign domination or political autonomy. Without national unity, without education—only one child in twenty so far goes to elementary school—and without a sense of exploitation and suppression, it would seem that some time must pass before the Indo-Chinese will offer any popular support to the small urban minorities who are agitating for self-government or independence.

M. Varenne is meeting the situation with moderate reforms along the lines of local assemblies, an extensive educational program and emphasis on the need for national unity combined with cooperation with France. His political opponents at home so desirous of finding him guilty of Socialist propaganda could find little to complain of in this program. Whatever the canceled commission of inquiry might have discovered in the way of irregularities in the granting of concessions, a complete investigation of Indo-Chinese affairs would find little justification for nationalist fears that the Governor General is paving the way for a political separation of the colony from the mother country.



# State Universities Add Billions to Nation's Wealth

By JOHN C. SCHMIDTMANN

Member of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin

SO much publicity has been given the princely gifts to education by American multi-millionaires and the useful activities of great educational endowments like the Carnegie Foundation, the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundations that not one man out of a hundred realizes the enormous size and scope of educational projects supported wholly from taxation by the American people themselves. All the universities of Scotland combined have, for example, fewer students than the University of Illinois, and either one of the two universities of the State of Michigan has as large an enrolment as both Oxford and Cambridge in England.

One of the current fallacies about our educational system is that our political and educational systems are of the same age and that both originated in the days of George Washington. The truth is that, though there were many public schools, not only was there no complete public educational system in America 150 years ago, but there was none 100 years ago. A system of public education had been established in Rhode Island in 1795 and another in New York, but both fell into immediate decline.

As an example of the amazing growth of education since then, let us note that the total revenue of the Federal Government from all sources in 1790, the year of the first census, was \$4,600,000. This year the State of California alone is raising by taxation for its State university over \$5,670,000 to educate a student body of 16,000—a number as great as the roster of all the soldiers who actually fought at any one time in Washington's armies!

What higher education there was in the days of the Fathers was almost entirely private and denominational. Harvard, oldest of American colleges, was founded in 1636 for the purpose, as the late Charles W. Eliot said, of making preachers of the weak and sickly young men. There were only three American colleges when Washington was born—all of them private—and only seven at the outbreak of the Revolution. For 200 years private and denominational col-

leges had complete and undisputed monopoly of higher education. Yet in less than a century the public school system of the United States has grown into the largest in the world—in enrolment, teaching force and financial support. There are 26,000,000 pupils and 822,000 teachers in our elementary and secondary schools, backed by the enormous budget of \$2,500,000,000. Most surprising of all is the attitude of the American people toward higher public education as shown by their support of State universities, colleges and technical schools, thus showing that democracy has met the challenge of the complex civilization of today. There are three times as many students in State universities and allied institutions as in all private and denominational institutions combined, and before long there will be four and five times as many.

The university of today is vastly more complex in organization and costly in maintenance than were the first American colleges, which were hardly more than theological seminaries, gradually developing to include the liberal arts and the so-called "learned professions." Nor did the classical college a hundred years ago require either expensive equipment or huge budgets for maintenance and operation. The modern university with five, ten and fifteen thousand students and great research projects requires them both. Even Horace Mann, who led the long and bitter fight to transplant to American soil the Prussian system of compulsory education at public expense, cherished the beautiful dream that every boy and girl in the land might be given a classical education.

The Garfield equipment for a college was not more primitive than the social organization for which it prepared its graduates. The American people would see their social and political problems in a far clearer light were they constantly to remember that American democracy was set up by a people almost wholly rural and agricultural. Each farm was an independent unit where the father was his own manufacturer, carpenter, black-

smith and butcher, and his wife the weaver of cloth, knitter of stockings and maker of candles and soap. The mother of Chief Justice John Marshall, although a member of the patrician Randolph family, rarely had such a convenience as a pin, using instead thorns plucked from bushes about her wilderness home.

Education, like commerce and industry, is a reflex of society as a whole. Former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, in his monumental biography of Marshall, sketches a significant picture of the intellectual life of Virginia, most aristocratic of the thirteen Colonies, when he states that less than 40 per cent. of the men who made deeds and served on juries could sign their names, although they belonged to the land-owning upper class. The President emeritus of a great American university frankly admits that his grandfather could neither read nor write, and that his father, though a member of the New York Legislature, could scarcely sign his own name. In spite of the great scientific achievements of Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhaus, no science was taught anywhere in America at the beginning of the last century save in the medical schools of Philadelphia and Boston. New England, through the ubiquity of its common schools and through its support of higher education, became the cultural, commercial and industrial capital of America, and our early literature and history were written by men educated in New England colleges.

#### EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

The intellectual backwardness of their countrymen must have given Washington, Franklin, Hamilton and Jefferson serious concern, for they could not expect their scheme of Government by the governed to succeed without a high average of popular intelligence. Almost two generations before the nation they founded adopted the German idea of compulsory public schools three of the men who led the American Revolution projected as many higher institutions of learning. Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, planned the University of Virginia, mother of State universities, although its doors were not opened to students until 1825. Franklin, keyman of the Constitutional Convention, organized what is now the University of Pennsylvania. Washington made provision in his will for a National University, a project that after 140 years still awaits fulfillment.

These three educational projects prove that the Fathers realized that their radical and revolutionary system of Government

was doomed to certain and miserable failure unless that system could be linked with the equally radical scheme of properly educating the people who lived under it. Another proof of the same idea is that even before the thirteen colonies had adopted the Constitution, the Federal Government committed itself to the startling idea of general public education which at that time existed only in New England. The ordinance of 1787 creating the Northwest Territory, contained the famous clause: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good Government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

In that great area of 270,000 square miles from which were erected the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, there is now being enacted the drama of science and research enlisted in the service of the State.

The great basic industry of farming has been completely reconstructed under the leadership of agricultural experiment stations and in one State at least, Wisconsin, the alarming exodus of the people from farm to city has been definitely checked. In the engineering laboratories of another great State university, successful experiments which established the practicability of the internal combustion engine made possible the great automobile industry of Michigan. It is highly significant that the beginning of State universities synchronizes with the beginning of modern scientific development. The oldest State university, Virginia, is scarcely one hundred years old and a hundred years is a brief period in the life of a nation or of a cultural movement.

Just as living organisms adjust themselves to their environment even where that environment changes, alfalfa surviving a succession of droughts by sending down its roots twenty feet into the soil, and a sapling in a dense forest pushing up its slender trunk until it reaches the sunlight on the roof of the forest, so democracy is striving through general education and scientific research to adjust itself to the increasing complexity of modern life. The initiators of American political institutions dreamed of an educated citizenry to operate intelligently those institutions, but they could not possibly have foreseen great public educational institutions where in elaborately equipped laboratories chemists, physicists, geologists and engineers are creating wealth through the discovery and organization of the forces of nature.

Even on the basis of dollars and cents the

investment in higher education made by the American people in this generation is the best investment they have ever made. Great mineral deposits, rich soil, timber and water power are valueless without science and organized skill to transform them into wealth. Professor A. Caswell Ellis of the University of Texas has gathered the results of numerous investigations into the effect of elementary, secondary and higher education on earning power. In a group of 799 Massachusetts factory workers those who left school at 14 received an estimated income of \$26,667, against a life income of \$58,900 for those who remained until 18. A study of the earnings of 3,345 pupils who left the Minneapolis schools at the end of the eighth grade shows that they began with an average salary of \$240 per year, against an average of \$600 paid to 912 graduates of the high school. Between 100 and 150 members of the Princeton class of 1901 reported average salaries of \$706 the first year, \$2,039 the fifth and \$3,804 the tenth year. The average salary of seventy-six members of the class of 1903 of the University of Texas was \$708 the first year, \$1,822 the fifth and \$2,943 the tenth. *Who's Who in America* is a fairly accurate register of distinction in any line of work in this country. The men and women recorded are not selected by college professors but by a firm of business men. An analysis of the 8,000 names in the 1900 edition disclosed only thirty-one names contributed by the 5,000,000 uneducated in America, 808 by the 33,000,000 with common school education, 1,245 by the 2,000,000 high school graduates and 5,768 by the less than a million college and university graduates of the country.

#### AN EXAMPLE FROM MAINE

A far-reaching contribution to the nations was made by the plant pathologists of the Orono Experiment Station of the University of Maine when they found that the green aphid is the dangerous carrier of the infection that produces the mosaic disease in potatoes. The ravages of this disease are so serious that even with slight infection the loss in yield runs as high as thirty to fifty bushels per acre. It is estimated that thirty to sixty bushels per acre is the normal expectation of increase through replacing common seed with certified seed free from the potato aphid. Maine is primarily an industrial State with lumber and paper as the chief products, but in 1924, 41 per cent. of the white potato acreage of the State was planted to certified seed and the increase in the commercial crop expected to follow rep-

resents a potential increased yield of a million barrels. The tremendous economic importance of this bit of minute investigation may be visualized from the fact that 3,000,000 American farmers raise potatoes and that the yield of the United States in 1924 was 454,784,000 bushels.

Another striking example of the cooperation between science and every-day life going on continuously in the laboratories of our great universities is the service of the University of California to the asparagus industry of the State. One county in California produces nine-tenths of the canned asparagus grown in the United States and contains asparagus fields of 3,000 and even 4,000 acres. Dr. H. A. Jones of the Truck Crop Division and Dr. W. W. Robbins of the Botany Division of the University Farm established conclusively that the selection of staminate, or male asparagus plants, for planting increased the yield 35 per cent. over the yield from pistillate or female plants. Under Californian climatic conditions the plants grow large enough in a season to show whether they produce seed or not and it is therefore easy to obtain plants of the right kind by simply planting them in the usual way in the nursery rows. The staminate or non-seed producing plants are then separated and planted in the field. The increased yield and additional profit resulting from this piece of research was enormous and would maintain for years to come the two departments that rendered the service.

Probably the most striking example of putting research and education to the direct service of the State has been furnished by the University of Wisconsin since a series of experiments and discoveries there made Wisconsin the premier dairy State in the world. In 1890 Professor Stephen Moulton Babcock of the Department of Agricultural Chemistry invented his famous test to determine the exact amount of butterfat in milk and gave his invention to the university and through it to the people of the State. With magic swiftness dairying rose from a "side line" on the farm to an industry that produces annually 100,000,000,000 pounds of dairy products and more wealth than all the gold annually mined on the continents of North and South America. Yet neither Dr. Babcock's great discovery nor his splendid altruism could have wrought the miracle of raising Wisconsin from a relatively poor State to the foremost agricultural State in the union.

Dairying as an all-year industry is absolutely dependent on Winter feeding of corn



cut into succulent ensilage and stored in silos, but corn was a warm climate crop. Years ago people in the corn belt used to say: "If you could only grow corn in Wisconsin as we do, you would have some State!" As the trained agronomists in the university experiment station could not change the cool Wisconsin climate, they changed the corn and to all ends and purposes moved the State into the corn belt! By a series of experiments extending over ten years and including germination of selected kernels in temperature-controlled refrigerators, the university produced a famous cold resistant corn that matures as far North as the shores of Lake Superior. Realizing that its task was only begun, the School of Agriculture organized 36,000 former agricultural students and school boys and girls into an association that distributed the pure bred corn from one end of the State to the other. Within six years the same acreage produced 25,000,000 bushels more than before, thereby adding \$25,000,000 annually to the wealth of the State and making secure Wisconsin's position as the foremost dairy region of the world. Federal crop reports show that Wisconsin has passed in yield per acre every great corn State of the Union.

The astounding achievements of the great modern American universities in applying science and research to life is simply applying, on a heroic scale, the truth that the greatest item of wealth in a State is its young men and women and that brains plus soil and matter equals wealth. New agricultural empires have resulted from experiments in plant pathology and agricultural chemistry; unprofitable mineral deposits have been made profitable by geologists; and mammoth factories have resulted from the discoveries of chemists and chemical engineers.

#### STATE UNIVERSITY FINANCES

One might expect democracy successfully to administer the primary tasks of Government like police powers, taxation, justice, customs duties and maintenance of the army and navy. But to operate successfully the difficult and complex enterprise of education, and especially higher education, and completely outdistance the older and well-financed private and denominational educational institutions that once completely monopolized the field, is a thrilling reassurance of the capacity of the people to govern themselves. The American people have unequivocally accepted Abraham Lincoln's famous dictum, "Public education is not only

an important, but the most important concern of the people."

Although our State universities are today supported almost wholly by taxation, it is scarcely sixty years ago that the States began to tax themselves in a small way for higher education. Today taxation for State universities has passed the enormous total of \$120,000,000:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. BIENNIIUM 1925-1927.		
	MAINTENANCE.	PLANT.
California University	\$11,353,947	\$680,000
Mich. Univ.	\$7,400,000	
Mich. St. C.	2,700,000	
	10,100,000	1,800,000
University of Illinois	8,500,000	2,000,000
Minnesota University	8,157,736	1,120,000
Iowa St. C.	\$4,452,774	
Iowa Univ.	3,711,811	
	8,164,585	\$275,000
Wisconsin University	6,322,363	1,395,000
Ohio St. U.	5,301,502	
Ohio Univ.	920,861	
	6,222,363	2,258,360
Indiana U.	2,380,000	286,500
Ind. Purdue	2,612,000	
	4,992,000	2,544,860
Pa. St. Col.	2,352,030	
Pa. Univer.	1,291,500	
	3,643,530	
Nebraska University	3,500,000	
Okla. Univ.	2,000,000	
Okla. Ag. C.	1,400,000	
	3,400,000	390,000
Texas University...	3,181,070	307,000
W. Va. University...	2,069,000	697,000
Kansas Agricultural	2,050,500	
Oregon Agricultural	1,010,075	502,500
Wash. State College	1,722,624	292,000
Tennessee University	1,700,000	139,567
Maryland University	1,657,320	226,690
N. Carolina Univ...	1,550,000	665,000
Florida University...	1,544,168	415,000
Louisiana University	1,500,000	800,000
Colorado University	1,430,000	525,000
Arizona University	1,300,000	900,000
Utah Agricul.	381,000	802,637
Utah Univ...	843,000	165,000
	1,224,000	
New Hampshire Un.	1,170,000	
Idaho University...	1,134,520	
North Dakota Univ.	925,770	250,000
South Dakota Univ.	825,900	63,785
Maine University...	800,000	
Montana University	712,200	
Connecticut Agric.	697,500	325,500
N. J., Rutgers.....	488,748	483,000
Virginia Polytechnic	481,470	77,325
Hawaii University...	478,380	15,150
Nevada University...	437,500	79,500
Delaware University	384,483	235,000
Wyoming University	187,000	
Rhode Isl. State Col.	262,800	
New Mexico Agric.	122,046	
Alaska Agricultural	82,860	
	80,500	
Total .....	\$105,387,087	\$21,875,640

The forty States above named, besides raising the enormous sum of \$103,783,900 for maintenance, are raising another \$20,000,000 for new buildings. Seven States

tax themselves over \$3,000,000 annually for their State universities.

#### THE PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

There has been no effort to attract students to these institutions. It is interesting to speculate how the older private colleges would have handled the situation had the great State universities not come into existence. The endowments of private universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton are the accretions of hundreds of years of gifts by wealthy alumni and others. Hundreds of American families are connected with them by ties of attachment formed by generation after generation of alumni. It is, therefore, illuminating to contrast the endowments of the wealthier of these institutions with the resources of the State-owned institutions just enumerated.

#### AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES WITH ENDOWMENTS OF \$10,000,000 OR OVER.

Harvard .....	\$64,413,891
Columbia .....	56,407,421
Yale .....	39,697,259
Chicago .....	31,992,620
Leland Stanford (1923) .....	27,279,571
Johns Hopkins .....	19,741,717
Cornell .....	19,700,000
Massachusetts Institute Technology .....	17,122,000
Rochester University .....	14,924,597
Princeton .....	14,000,000
Carnegie Institute Technology .....	13,829,000
Washington University .....	11,608,428
University of Texas .....	10,900,000
University of Pennsylvania (1923) .....	10,208,000
Rice University .....	10,000,000

There are only fourteen private universities and one State university (Texas) with endowments of ten millions. Harvard, the oldest and wealthiest American private university, on the basis of 5 per cent. net has an endowed income of only \$3,222,000. By their very nature private universities are cut off from public taxation and must operate on the income from their endowments, supplemented by higher tuition charges and by "passing the hat" both to their alumni

and to wealthy individuals interested in education. Whereas in the year 1917-18 student tuition fees in State universities and colleges averaged only 22.5 per cent. of the total income, this item formed over half—54.2 per cent.—of the income of private colleges and universities.

The amazing growth of high schools is rapidly swelling the size of the freshman classes that present themselves every year for admission to every higher institution of learning in the land. Several great private colleges, notably Harvard and Leland Stanford, recognizing that their facilities have reached the limit for efficient teaching, have put up the bars by strictly limiting the size of the incoming classes. The State universities now maintained by all but three of the forty-eight States of the Union cannot and do not impose any other entrance restrictions than those of scholarship and higher tuition fees. Not only are they providing new buildings at the rate of over \$10,000,000 a year but some of them are developing great extension departments to bring university instruction into the very homes of those otherwise unable to secure it. Last year the Extension Department of the University of Wisconsin had an enrolment of 30,000—four times the number of students on the campus. It sent out over 600,000 lantern slides, 35,000 reels of educational motion picture films and 10,000 package libraries.

So secure do the tax-supported State universities feel that the people will continue adequately to support them that one of them, the University of Wisconsin, recently decided not to solicit further subventions from incorporated educational endowments like the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations. A study of the comparative development of the State and private types of universities in America would indicate that public taxation is a far more adequate and certain source of support.



# Australia's New Seat of Government

By SIR HUGH DENISON

Commissioner in the United States for the Australian Commonwealth Government.

THE opening, on May 9, 1927, of the first Australian Parliament to meet at Canberra, the new capital of the Commonwealth, marks the beginning of an important phase in the history of that great self-governing Dominion. It is, therefore, appropriate to review briefly its progress from the days when Australia meant nothing more to the world than a remote penal settlement to which the overflow of the British prisons was sent.

The success of the American colonies in winning their independence made it impossible for the British Government to continue sending convicts to America, and after considerable discussion, Australia was chosen partly for that purpose and partly also to provide a new home for many American loyalists, who, after the War of Independence, were living in destitute circumstances in England. On Jan. 26, 1788, the first settlement was established by Captain Arthur Phillip on the site of what is today the great and wealthy city of Sydney.

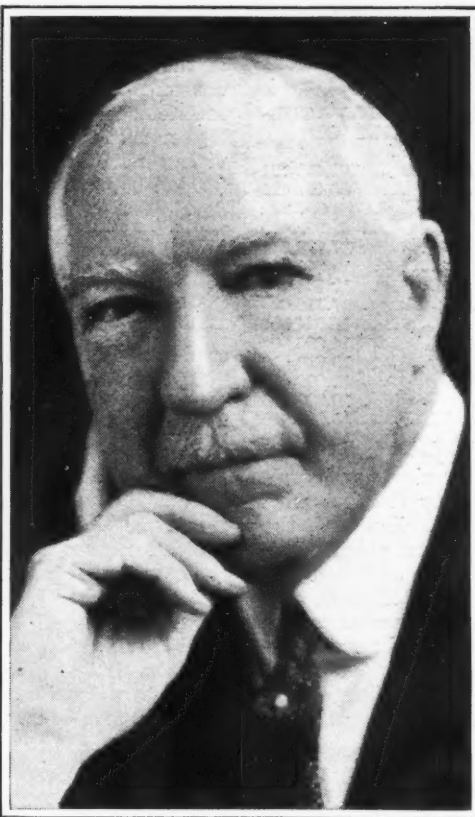
Soon, however, it was discovered that Australia was admirably adapted to agriculture and the breeding of sheep and cattle, and gradually the idea that this country, slightly larger than the United States, should be used only as a vast penitentiary was abandoned. Within fifty years of the

first settlement the influence of the free settlers there was strong enough to bring to an end the transportation of convicts from the Mother Country to New South Wales, although for a few years afterwards a limited number were sent to Tasmania

and Western Australia. For this reason, though it is still thought by some people that a great many Australians are of convict descent, actually this strain in the population has become negligible owing to the original element having been swamped many times over by the constant influx of new settlers, and also by the fact that large numbers of the early transportees left the country as soon as the term of their "ticket of leave" expired.

Until 1851 Australia was developing slowly as a prosperous pastoral and agricultural country, but in that year came the first great turning point in its history. The discovery of gold brought venturesome spirits from all over the world, new cities sprang up and industries began to be established. Though the production of

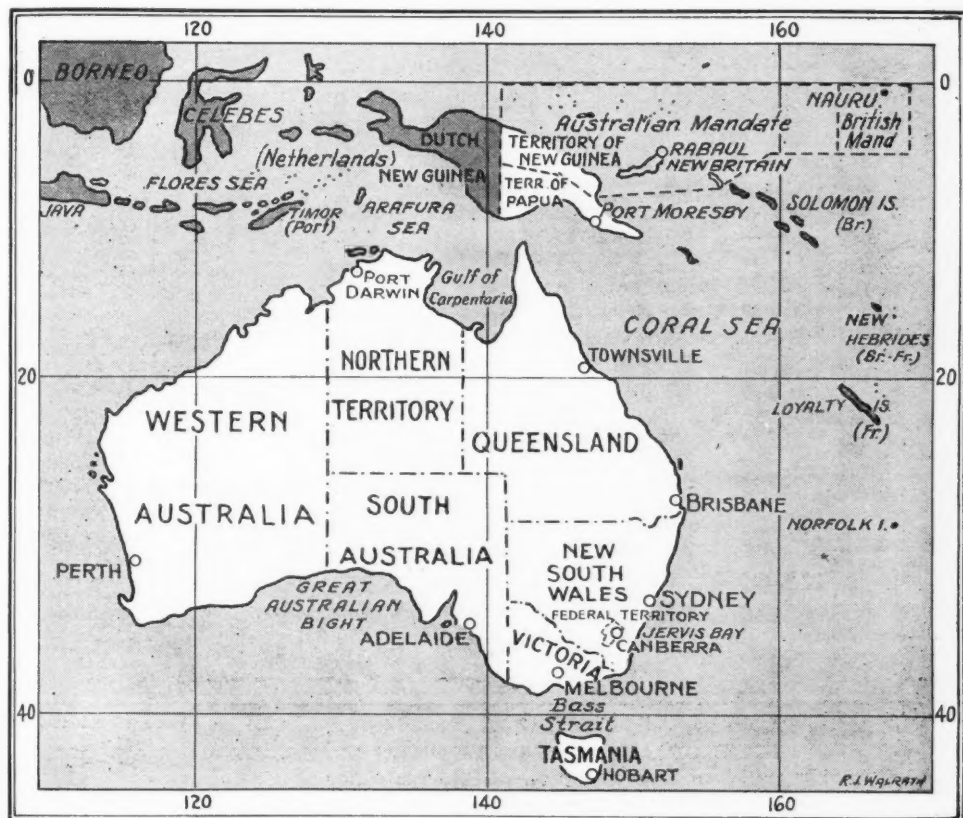
the greatest quantity and the finest quality of wool of any country in the world still makes sheep-raising Australia's leading industry, other rural and urban industries have since developed to such an extent that the Commonwealth now ranks second only



Underwood

SIR HUGH DENISON, K. B. E.  
Commissioner in the United States for the  
Australian Commonwealth Government.





Map of Australia, showing the States of the Commonwealth and the territories under its jurisdiction

to the United States in its per capita production of wealth.

In the earlier years, the different sections into which the country was divided were governed as dependencies of the Crown by Governors having almost autocratic powers, and later small legislative councils consisting of nominees, official and unofficial, were established to assist them.

The gradual increase of population and the spread of democratic ideas after the cessation of transportation led to the first important political change. This occurred in 1842, when the Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land (as Tasmania was originally known) was passed by the British Parliament, thus introducing the elective principle of popular government. In 1850 a further advance was made when the British Parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act which enabled the various colonies to set up their own Government under constitutions based in their main principles upon

the British Constitution, that is, with a legislative assembly elected by the citizens, and Ministers responsible to Parliament, and a legislative council either appointed by the Governor or elected on a property qualification. Except in matters of international or imperial concern, these colonies thus became self-governing and possessed sovereign rights. There were eventually six such self-governing colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. The only part of Australia that did not have—and still has not—similar status is the Northern Territory.

For many years before 1900 the idea that these self-governing colonies should federate had been discussed and in the last decade of the nineteenth century proposals were crystallized and a Federal Constitution drawn up by a convention consisting of delegates from all six States. With one or two modifications this was finally adopted by a referendum vote of the peo-



Wide World Photos

### THREE OF AUSTRALIA'S LEADING STATESMEN

From left to right: William Morris Hughes, ex-Prime Minister of the Commonwealth; H. E. Pratten, Minister for Trade and Customs; Stanley M. Bruce, the present Prime Minister

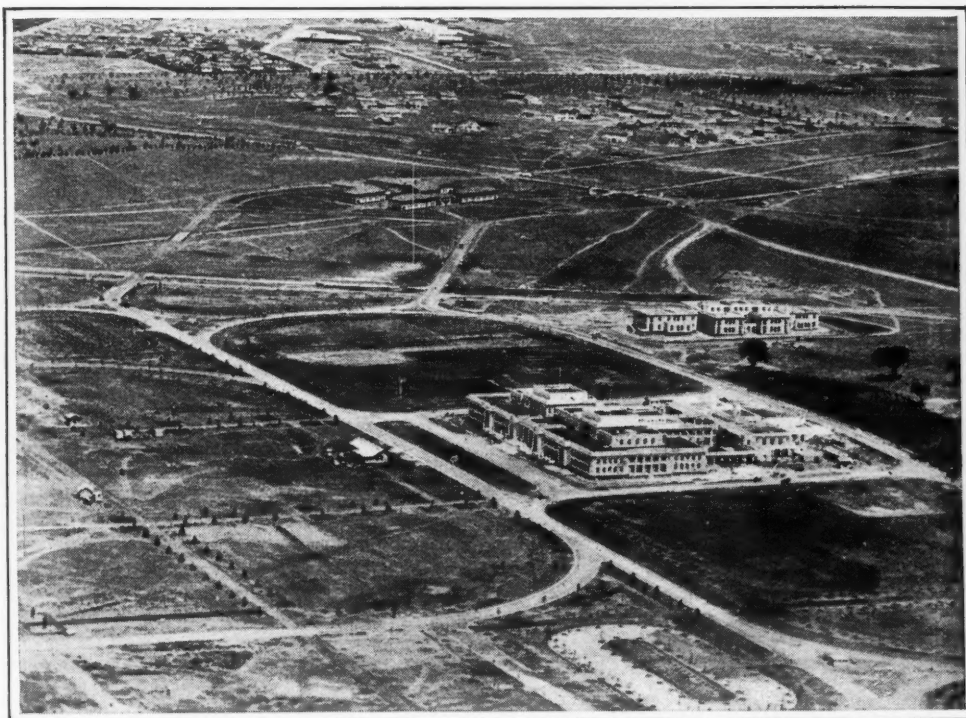
ple of the six colonies and on Jan. 1, 1901, this "one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth" was inaugurated. Elections for the new Senate and House of Representatives were held with as little delay as possible and on May 9 of the same year King George V, then the Duke of York, opened the first Commonwealth Parliament in Melbourne. The reason that May 9 this year has been chosen for opening the first Parliament at Canberra is that King George's second son, now the Duke of York, will preside over the elaborate ceremonies that will mark this historic occasion.

### THE NEW CAPITAL

When the Commonwealth was inaugurated on the first day of the present century, Melbourne, the capital of the State of Victoria, became the temporary seat of the Federal Government, as was provided by the Commonwealth Constitution. But it was also laid down that eventually the Federal capital should be in New South Wales in territory ceded to the Commonwealth for that purpose. After a great deal of controversy the Canberra site was

chosen and plans made to build there a new city worthy to be the national capital. Architects throughout the world were invited to compete in submitting plans; and it was W. Burley Griffin, an American, who won the prize and whose scheme is the basis of the plan according to which Canberra was laid out. The site chosen is an ideal one, situated on a high tableland about 200 miles from Sydney and enjoys a fine bracing climate, good rainfall and an excellent water supply for all domestic purposes. The plan is modeled something after the style of Washington, with a Capitol, civic and other centres from which will radiate the various streets, all of which are being planted with flowering shrubs and suitable trees. But for the World War greater progress would have been made in building the city, and even now, although much has been accomplished and the Government is being transferred there, Canberra is still far from being what it is ultimately intended to be.

The area and resources of Australia make it one of the great countries of the world, and one that in the future is bound



Wide World Photos

A view of Canberra, the capital of Australia, showing the new buildings for the Commonwealth Parliament and Government

to become of ever increasing importance in the Pacific. It is at the present time a self-governing Dominion, forming part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a nation that has already begun to govern countries outside its own boundaries. Thus, the former British colony New Guinea was transferred from the administration of the Colonial Office in London to the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth and is known now as Papua. Then, as a result of the World War, German New Guinea became the Territory of New Guinea under mandate from the League of Nations to the Commonwealth. And finally there is Norfolk Island, off the east coast, which was one of the early convict settlements. The total area of the Commonwealth and its territories may be seen from the following table:

STATE OR TERRITORY	AREA IN SQUARE MILES
New South Wales.....	309,432
Victoria .....	87,884
Queensland .....	670,500
Western Australia.....	975,920
South Australia.....	380,070
Tasmania .....	26,215
Northern Territory.....	523,620

Federal Capital Territory.....	940
Norfolk Island.....	13
Papua .....	90,540
Territory of New Guinea.....	91,000
	<hr/> 3,156,134

This immense area is, however, for the most part sparsely populated. Excluding the territories, the Commonwealth has at present little more than 6,000,000 inhabitants, and of them the majority are concentrated in the dozen largest cities, the capitals of the six States alone accounting for nearly half on Dec. 31, 1925.

STATE, CAPITAL	POPULATION OF CAPITAL
New South Wales, Sydney.....	1,039,390
Victoria, Melbourne.....	912,130
Queensland, Brisbane.....	263,711
South Australia, Adelaide.....	303,612
Western Australia, Perth.....	179,388
Tasmania, Hobart.....	58,740

Total for six cities..... 2,756,973

Although the growth of population in the cities is deplored by many Australians, who see too many vast empty spaces on the map, it is only what has occurred during the past century in so many other countries in the world, and has been the inevitable





Wide World Photos

The official residence of the Australian Prime Minister nearing completion at Canberra, the capital of the Commonwealth

result of the remarkable expansion of manufacturing industries since the Federal union abolished the tariff walls which all the colonies had previously erected around their borders. Industrial activity grows more intense every year, although the main sources of Australian wealth are still the production of wool, meat, wheat, fruit, butter and minerals. It is, indeed, a fixed belief of the industrial and business community that Australia should, as far as possible, be independent of other countries for manufactured goods. This idea was strengthened during the World War when the importation of many articles was cut off or greatly reduced, and manufacturers were thus encouraged to meet the local demand by the creation of new industrial enterprises.

In conclusion, without wearying the reader with statistical details, it can be said that, if there is one other country of the world that enjoys prosperity comparable to the United States it is Australia.

The Commonwealth has, indeed, many advantages—not only in the rich variety of

its natural resources, but also because it is not troubled by many of the problems that perplex America. The 6,000,000 Australians are almost wholly of British stock, and speak no language except English; nor is there any colored section of the community to add to such other difficulties as are caused by the presence of foreign elements like those in America. The Australian people are, of course, divided into different political camps, but there is no country in the world where political and economic issues are less complicated by the extraneous questions raised by race, nationality or religion.

Unless unforeseen calamities afflict the country, Australia may be counted upon to make steady progress toward a higher standard of civilization than has yet been the case in any country. Of the present prosperity, health and efficiency of the Australian people there is no doubt, and gradually the signs multiply of a high intellectual and artistic development that one should expect to result from the material welfare of a people surrounded by so many of the blessings of a beneficent Providence.

# America's Domestic Servant Shortage

By ETHEL M. SMITH

Legislative Secretary, National Women's Trade Union League

SOONER or later, all economic developments have a relation, in one aspect or another, to the question of who is to do the work of the world that nobody wants to do. By very great numbers of people—we are tempted to say nearly all—domestic service is relegated to that category. Yet, thus far at least, the world does not think it can do without servants. Consequently, under present day conditions in some parts of the world there are times when it seems to the servant-employing household as if the last trump had sounded. The number of domestic servants in the United States declined more than 300,000 in the interval between the last two censuses, or from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. of the total wage-earning population. Then came the new immigration law, with its drastic quota limitations, cutting off recruiting grounds abroad, and the problem would seem to have entered a phase still more acute.<sup>1</sup>

The demand for domestic servants is reported greater than the acceptable supply in cities of our Northeastern States and in some parts of the West. In the Middle West and South, for reasons of different origin, there appears no shortage of domestic help, but actually an oversupply, except here and there, otherwise accounted for. What presents itself as a whole to the view of those who would inquire is a chart of many currents, the interrelated shifts and migrations of great groups of human beings in search of a livelihood. There are seeking movements and there are deterrent forces. Immigrants seeking work knock at this

nation's doors, now closed. Unskilled American workers knock at factory gates in their own country often in vain. There is a great movement of black people, only a few generations out of slavery, surging up from the agricultural areas of the South into cities of the industrial North. In every group, whether immigrant, native or negro, there are women, as wage-earners now one-fifth as numerous as men, and potentially equal in numbers. Industry and commerce, steadily expanding, absorb greater and greater multitudes. Yet some are unemployed, and there is always somewhere an unfilled demand.

Against the new immigration law as an immediate cause of present domestic service shortage there is a *prima facie* case. The European immigration which almost stopped during the war had gradually mounted from 1919 to 1921 until it was approaching pre-war figures. At the close of that fiscal year, with the enforcement of the first quota law, and more especially with the enforcement of the still greater restrictions of the law of 1924, the total immigration figures dropped from 805,228 in 1921 to 304,488 in 1926. Comparing the peak year of post-war arrivals of immigrants classified as servants with the latest figures available, contained in the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1926, we find 102,478 immigrants classified as servants in 1921, whereas in 1926, after four years of restriction, this number had fallen off more than two-thirds, to 30,587.

It does not follow that immigrants who state their occupation to have been that of servant in their own country (which is the basis of the Immigration Bureau's classification) will pursue the same occupation in the United States. On the other hand, it might be contended that more immigrants than were servants in their own country would become servants here. With this latter thought in mind, and looking at the total numbers of immigrants of all classes destined to certain States whose large cities have been receiving the largest proportions of the immigrant arrivals—it is the cities,

<sup>1</sup>The number of American incomes permitting the employment of servants is probably greater than ever before, and this, by increasing the demand over a diminishing supply, would still further increase the shortage. The margin of income over cost of living, however, above the subsistence level, is a matter of individual and environmental standards as well as of prices, of labor-saving devices as well as new wants, of new adjustments to meet new modes of life, of real wages as compared with dollars and cents. An indeterminable factor in the domestic servant question, it would seem, which probably would not alter the general outlines of the situation, as here discussed.

chiefly, that employ domestic servants—we discover such marked declines as the following:

Immigrants destined to:	1921.	1926.
New York State.....	263,640	74,019
Massachusetts.....	64,053	26,845
Pennsylvania.....	85,992	17,627
Illinois.....	48,358	20,176
California.....	43,242	19,785
Washington.....	10,688	5,590

The possibility of recruiting domestic servants from the arriving immigrants is obviously less than it was five years ago, and much less than before the war. There is, however, another factor to reckon with. Although it is clearly not possible to employ immigrants as domestic servants, if there are no longer immigrants to employ, there is a basis for the question, Were we getting so many immigrant servants as we thought we were, after all? Were we getting even as many as the figures seem to show? On that point we can marshal several sets of facts. From the United States Census reports we learn that the total number of servants in the United States in 1910 was 1,572,225; in 1920 it was 1,270,946. Of these the foreign born numbered 403,398 in 1910, and to that number we might expect to add, during the next ten years, most of the immigrants classified as servants who landed in the United States from that time until the end of the decade. The Immigration Bureau reports show a total of 660,516 such immigrants. Yet the Census figures for 1920 show only 285,634 foreign-born servants in the United States that year—a decline of 117,764 in numbers of foreign-born servants as compared with the Census of 1910, notwithstanding presumable additions to that group numbering several times that total. It seems obvious either that the group who enter this country under the classification of servants do not take employment as such on landing in America, or they leave that employment relatively soon thereafter.

Still another suggestive view of this situation is provided by Dr. Joseph A. Hill of the Census Bureau in a discussion of the northward migration of the negroes in this country.<sup>2</sup> He says: "The total number of female servants of all classes, white and

colored, as reported by the census, decreased materially in the last decade, this number being 1,012,133 in 1920, as compared with 1,309,549 in 1910, a decrease of about 30 per cent., or nearly one-third. In New York City the number of female servants fell off from 113,409 in 1910 to 84,615 in 1920; in Chicago the decrease was from 34,473 in 1910 to 26,184 in 1920; in Philadelphia it was nearly the same—from 37,050 to 28,290. Evidently people are learning to do without domestic servants. I shall not stop to inquire how. But doubtless the increasing resort to the simplified housekeeping of the apartment furnishes a partial explanation of this phenomenon. In the meantime, white female servants in Northern cities are to a large extent being supplanted or replaced by negroes; for, while the number of white female servants, foreign born as well as native, has decreased, the number of negro female servants has materially increased, so that they form an increasing proportion or percentage of the diminishing total. Thus, in Chicago, in 1920, 23.9 per cent., or about one-fourth of the female servants, were negroes, as compared with 10.2 per cent. in 1910. In New York the per cent. of negroes in the total number of female servants increased from 12.4 in 1910 to 22.4 in 1920; in Detroit from 61.1 to 23.1; in Cleveland from 8.7 to 30.1; in Philadelphia from 38.5 to 53.8. And there are similar increases in the percentages for all the Northern cities to which the negroes have migrated in considerable numbers."

The northward negro migration, however, Dr. Hill points out, can never take the place numerically of the European immigration of the past, for there are not that many negroes in the United States. Another set of figures is of interest to us here, and leads to another field of inquiry in the domestic service problem. These are the figures for women immigrants.

#### THE WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

Household servants are chiefly women—about 80 per cent. women, according to the last census—and the Immigration Bureau reports 96 per cent. women among the immigrants classified as servants arriving last year. What is the proportion of women immigrants to the total immigration of both sexes? What is the proportion of immigrant servants to the total immigration of all occupations? And, compared for given years, what are the trends of these two sets of figures? Here they are for the peak immigration years before the war, when

<sup>2</sup>Recent Northern Migration of the Negro, by Joseph A. Hill. A paper read before the eighteenth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Washington, Dec. 27, 1923. Published in proceedings of the Society and also in the Monthly Labor Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, pp. 1-14, March, 1924.



numbers were unrestricted, and for the two post-war years of greatest restriction:

	1913.	1914.	1925.	1926.
Total number of immigrants	1,197,892	1,218,480	294,314	304,488
Number of immigrant servants	140,218	144,409	26,924	30,587
Number of immigrant women	389,748	419,733	131,062	133,921
Per cent. imgt. srvts. of total immigrants ..	11.7	11.8	9.1	10.0
Per cent. imgt. women of tot. immigrants ..	32.5	34.4	44.5	*44.0

\*Counting European immigration only, the proportion of women was 51 per cent.

Not only the number, but the percentage of servants among immigrants is downward as compared with pre-war years. The number of women immigrants runs downward, but the percentage of women among all immigrants rises. Remembering that servant-employing households in the Northern tier of States show a marked preference for women servants who are Scandinavian, Scotch, English, German, Irish, French or Bohemian, we note with interest that the total number of women immigrants of these seven groups was 114,081 in 1913 and 101,143 in 1926, a decline of a few thousands in numbers, but a rising proportion of the total immigration—from 9 per cent. to 33 per cent.

What would be the effect, then, upon the supply of domestic servants, if the immigration law were relaxed? Undoubtedly, if immigration were unrestricted, there would be for the immediate present, and even for the immediate future, a considerably greater number of men and women available for household employment. But would that condition be more than temporary? Would not these newcomers soon go the way of native Americans—which seems to be into the factory or office?

Mrs. Agnes Palmer, Superintendent of the Women's Division of the Michigan Public Employment Bureau in Detroit, furnishes some pointed information on this. There is no shortage of domestic servants in Detroit, she writes, under date of Dec. 11, 1926. American, Canadian and English girls are preferred, Canadians and English being most numerous among the applicants. "Many of the girls come from small towns—not many from farms; a great variety try domestic work from factories during dull periods, as also they do from offices when work in their line is slack." Although there is no shortage of applicants now, Mrs. Palmer continues, when there is, it is because the girls take factory work: "The girls prefer to do factory work and have

their evenings and Sundays free. This last year in Detroit there has been a shortage in factory work; so the girls have been compelled to take domestic work if they could possibly qualify. Detroit seems to be crowded with inefficient, incompetent female help." Wages, under these conditions, are reported as \$8 to \$15 a week for all-round domestic workers; housemaids, with no cooking, \$5 to \$12; cooks, \$15 to \$20, all these rates including board and room. As to cooks, by the way, Mrs. Palmer notes that there is always a shortage in the very experienced.

Closely resembling the Detroit report comes a statement from Chicago, from Mrs. Mary V. Halas, an officer of the National Women's Trade Union League, who was formerly in the Women's Division of the United States Employment Service in Chicago. She says under date of Jan. 4, 1927: "There is an oversupply of domestic servants in Chicago. The surplus has increased steadily in the last five years by reason of the return of the unskilled, poorly paid factory worker back to domestic work. Lots of factory workers are available as domestic servants at \$14 weekly. Wages run as high as \$25 a week."

Quite different is the report of Miss Henrietta Rothstein, Superintendent of the Women's Division of the State Employment Bureau in New York City, who writes under date of Dec. 14, 1926:

About 65 per cent. of our work deals with domestic servants, half of this for the day worker and the other half for the weekly or monthly worker. We are able to meet the demand for the day worker, but not the demand for the monthly white domestics. The demand has increased since the World War and since the supply of white domestics is limited, colored part-time workers have been taking the place of the white monthly workers. The nationalities preferred are Swedish, German, Bohemian and French, but the colored predominate among the applicants. The prevailing rates of wages for all round domestic workers are \$50 to \$80 per month, for cooks \$75 to \$110, for housemaids, not including cooking, \$60 to \$80 per month, all these rates including room and meals. The principal cause of shortage is the limitation of immigration.

Reporting a shortage in Boston, Mrs. Alice B. Ryan of the Public Employment Service conducted by the city suggests a cause which is somewhat different from the others, but not unrelated to them. "There is a greater shortage than before the World War," she writes, "due, we believe, to the fact that employers call for 'young girls,' and these prefer factory work in order to have their evenings to themselves." Most of the Boston applicants are foreign born, according to Mrs. Ryan, "di-

rect from across the water," and Swedish, Irish and Scotch are preferred. "Jewish girls absolutely refuse housework—'too menial,'" she adds, giving a glimpse of another interesting psychological phase of the problem. Wages in Boston run about \$12 to \$14 for all-round domestic servants, \$17 to \$20 for cooks, \$8 to \$12 for housemaids who do no cooking, the rates including room and meals.

#### FOREIGN BORN PREFERRED

From Denver, where the Young Women's Christian Association Employment Department works jointly with the Federal employment service, the Assistant Employment Secretary, Miss Mary Patton, cites a year's record of twice as many calls for domestic servants as applicants on the register, and anomalously a wage scale 30 to 60 per cent. lower than New York. A few Spanish and Mexican girls were almost the only foreign-born applicants. The director of the Scandinavian Y. W. C. A. is quoted as having not only fewer applicants than formerly but those of a less desirable type—because, she says, of restricted immigration. Miss Patton adds, however, that while immigration is one of the causes, "the most serious thing is the fact that most girls and women thoroughly dislike being employed in a home." At the same time, "Housewives beg for an old-time maid or servant. They say frankly that American girls do not make good maids."

Here stands out another factor in the problem. The shortage is a thing not only of numbers but of acceptability as well. The Denver situation, it would seem, illustrates a common phase—on the one hand a boycott of the kitchen and the acceptable, on the other a selective demand.

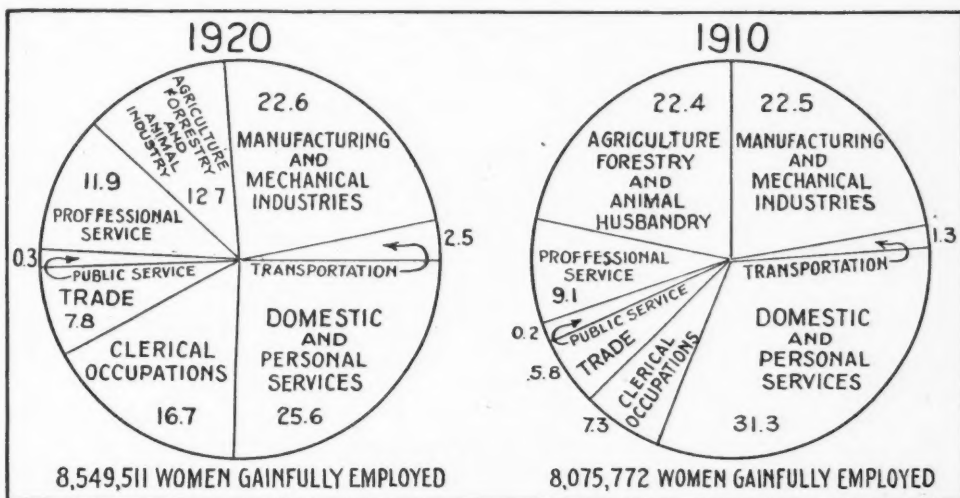
San Francisco, during the Winter, according to the records of the public employment service there, is never short of domestic help. At certain times of the year, however, the domestics go to resorts to work as waitresses and chambermaids. Scandinavians and Germans are the nationalities preferred, and apparently obtainable to some extent, for the Immigration Bureau reports nearly a thousand to two thousand of them annually landing with the intention of making California their State of future residence. Seattle, on the other hand, reports a greater shortage of domestic servants than before the war, because, it is thought, "new work for women obtained during the war made housework less desirable." This information comes over the signature of Miss Ida Behlke of the Women's

Division of the Public Employment Service of Seattle, who states also that the best of their applicants are foreign born, with Scandinavians, Germans, English and Finnish most in demand, and Scandinavians, Americans and Canadians most numerous available. Wages run from \$40 to \$75 monthly for all-around domestic service, \$60 to \$100 for cooks, \$20 to \$75 for housemaids who do no cooking. Oriental help, she adds, receives \$20 (with school privilege) to \$75. All these rates include room and meals.

Cities located between the North and South and depending largely on colored workers, like Baltimore, Washington and Kansas City, report no shortage of domestic help, but Richmond, a little farther south, is apparently feeling the Southern end of the effect of the Northern migration of the negroes. "We are not able to meet the demand at all times," writes T. S. Wharton, manager of the Public Employment Bureau in Richmond, adding that "there is practically no demand in this section for foreigners." He mentions the negro migration as in his opinion the cause of the shortage that exists in Richmond. In Birmingham and New Orleans, where colored workers are plentiful and are preferred, there is no shortage of domestics now, but in the latter city especially an oversupply. Wages in these Southern cities are low; in Richmond \$7 or \$8 per week, with room and board, for housemaids, and \$9 for cooks; in Birmingham, \$5, \$6 and up; in New Orleans, \$10, \$20 and \$30, for women, and \$30 to \$50 for men.

Thus the map may be put together, its segments telling somewhat different stories. The complete impression, however, is one of consistency. The restrictions of the immigration law undoubtedly do affect the supply of domestic workers temporarily and especially in certain areas near the ports of entry. But the chief cause, the big migration, is not a geographical shift from one location to another, either of European and Asiatic peoples to America, or of negroes out of Southern agriculture into Northern industry. It is the movement of women, in great numbers now instead of the former few, out of their historically allotted "sphere" into other fields of the world's work. The census figures suggest this, and the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, analyzing those figures, virtually proves it. Graphically, the situation is shown by the diagram on page 217.

This is another way of saying that, showing a less-than-expected numerical increase in the numbers of women gainfully occupied,

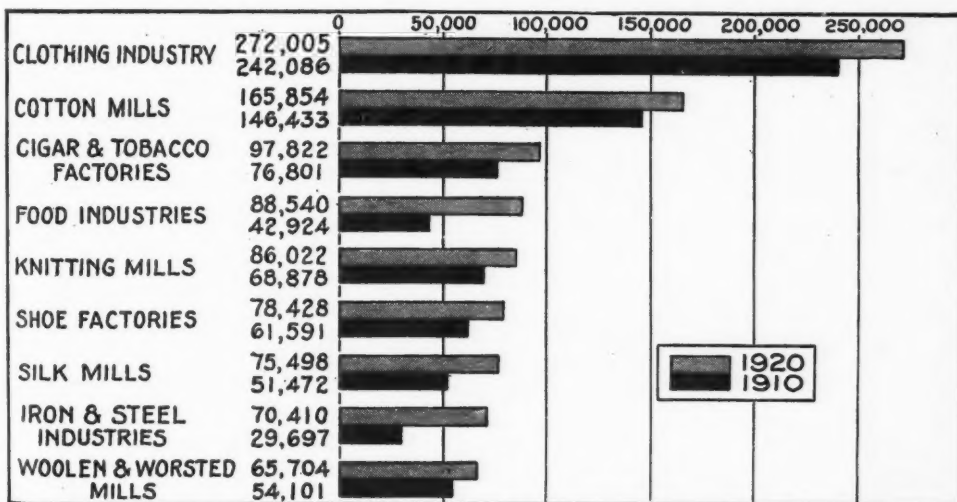


The occupational distribution of women in the United States in 1920 and 1910 respectively. (Redrawn from diagram in "The Occupational Progress of Women," Bulletin No. 27, Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1922)

the decade between the censuses witnessed great shifts in the kind of employment in which women engaged. The oldest of women's wage-earning occupations, and the largest—domestic service—lost more than one-fifth of its numbers, who disappeared, apparently, into the newer fields:

Increases of 50,000 or more occurred among women who were clerks in offices, stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, teachers, saleswomen, telephone operators,

trained nurses and clerks in stores. \* \* \* In manufacturing and mechanical industries \* \* \* increases since 1910 of more than 10,000 women were found among semi-skilled operatives in food, iron and steel, and clothing industries, in silk and knitting mills, and in electrical supply, shoe, and cigar and tobacco factories; among laborers in cotton mills and among forewomen and overseers in manufacturing. The most striking increase shown for women in any industrial group was that for operatives in automobile factories, among whom there was an increase of 1,408 per cent. In the entire iron and steel industry women



Numbers of women in selected manufacturing industries in the United States in 1920 and 1910, respectively—all industries included in which 50,000 or more women were employed in 1920. Redrawn from diagram in "The Occupational Progress of Women," Bulletin No. 27, Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1922.)

increased 145.4 per cent. as semi-skilled operatives. A slightly larger increase (148.1 per cent.) occurred among women operatives in electrical supply factories.

These statements are taken from the same bulletin of the Women's Bureau already quoted, and they are illustrated graphically by the second diagram given on page 217.

#### THE QUESTION OF STATUS

The statistical showing is amply supported by testimony from investigators of the domestic service problem.<sup>3</sup> The servant's status has been historically regarded as a thing to be escaped from if possible and accepted only as a last resort, despite the many attempts to dignify it. The social stigma, the low wages consequent on this and other things, the isolation of the job, its long hours and its complicated requirements under average conditions have not stood comparison with the regular hours, the better pay, the better social status and the companionship of factory, store, office or telephone exchange. The household and kitchen occupations are the least standardized, the least modernized, the most feudal of all the work in the modern world. As performed for wages, they present more acutely personal, individual, temperamental problems than any other kind of employment, and they are problems which have to be dealt with by those very people, employers and employes alike, who on each side have less business training, along with more complicated business relationships, than any other. This household problem is,

in fact, an industrial problem; it is an economic problem, a social problem and a psychological problem. No wonder both the mistresses and the maids throw up their hands and quit.

Nor is it peculiarly an American problem, nor has it ever been. England has been so beset with it that a commission was appointed by the Government after the World War to study proposals for relief.<sup>4</sup> Other countries of Europe have the problem, owing in part to other causes than those that trouble us. But if women are emigrating from Northern Europe in proportionally greater numbers than ever before, as they are; if notwithstanding the emigration and the millions of women in the Northern European countries in excess of men, there is still a domestic service shortage there, it seems most unlikely that transferring those women to America would permanently offset the domestic service shortage here. It seems far more probable that it is the changing occupational status of women in Europe as well as in America that is primarily responsible for the continuing problems of shortage in domestic service wherever it occurs. If that is true, it means a prolonged period of difficult adjustment ahead. As women everywhere, housekeeper and household servant alike, expand their lives and interests, moving into new and different fields of work, it will tax their ingenuity and all the best minds of this wonder-making, resourceful age of ours to keep the home fires burning. But the human race is equal to this adjustment, as it has been to the others of its lifetime.

<sup>3</sup>Salmon, Lucy Maynard: *Domestic Service*, Macmillan Company, New York and London, 1897, 307 pp. Y. W. C. A.: *First Report of the Commission on Household Employment, 1915*, 34 pp. Firth, Violet M.: *The Psychology of the Servant Problem: A study in social relationships*. C. W. Daniel Co., London, 1925, 96 pp.

<sup>4</sup>Ministry of Reconstruction of Great Britain: *Report of the Women's Advisory Committee on the Domestic Service Problem*, presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. London, 1919, 36 pp.





# Spiritualism in the Light of Modern Science

By ADAM GOWANS WHYTE

British Scientist; Author of *The World's Wonder Sources*, *The Religion of the Open Mind* and other books

NOW and again Spiritualism puts on an air of being very modern. It poses as a kind of scientific cult, very much in advance of the ancient religions—not so much superseding them as decorating them with the glory of positive proof about life after death. But at the root it is as old as humanity. Far from being a form of superreligion, it is really the carrier wave on which all religions have imposed their peculiar vibrations. Belief in spirits and in their ability to communicate with us across the gulf of death is the keynote of every supernatural faith. Spiritualism, with its séances, its trances, its crystal-gazing, its tambourines and trumpets, its table-rapping and ouija boards, its automatic writings and its ghostly photographs, is merely a new witness to the desire which was born in the heart of a caveman when he sat by the body of a dead comrade longing for him to come back from the land of sleep.

In the vast majority of cases it is the agony of bereavement that leads people to take an interest in Spiritualism. They are not content to wait until they themselves are dead before they rejoin their beloved ones; they hunger for communion here and now. As this is the main driving power behind Spiritualism, it is important to realize how deep-seated it is. Primitive man derived it from his brute ancestors. Many animals display acute sorrow when they lose companions, and the dog who haunts the grave of his master is a token of an emotion which may—even among creatures with no "soul"—become more intense than the love of life itself.

Whatsoever man desires he obtains. If he cannot find a reality to meet his need he creates a phantom to fill the void. Our caveman found this task easy enough. He lived in a world of phantoms. As he slept he wandered, he fought, he hunted—a phantom among phantoms. He was reluctant to wake a sleeping man, lest the spirit of the sleeper should be absent. When a man died his weapons and other possessions were

placed on his grave for him to use in the spirit world, and food was likewise provided for the ghost that still hovered near the body. Illness to him was the work of evil spirits and a hundred things in nature—the murmur of the river, the roar of the tempest, the flash and crash of the thunderstorm—spoke to him of invisible and powerful spirits.

The story of religion is really the story of how these crude beliefs were gradually refined. Refined, but not lost. While the realm of natural law widened until it embraced all phenomena to the furthest star, men retained their original faith in the duality of man, in the existence of an immortal soul which dwelt for a while in an evanescent body. And they continued, as of old, to challenge death.

Thus Spiritualism starts with the strength of an overmastering human impulse, buttressed by tradition. Whatever may be thought about the scientific value of tradition, the impulse is readily seen to be a source of weakness as well as of strength, for Spiritualism today makes its public appeal ostensibly to reason, not to faith. This is made perfectly clear by Sir Oliver Lodge, who is the acknowledged High Priest of Spiritualism. Speaking in London recently, he said:

Meanwhile a mere conviction of survival is now no act of faith; it is the outcome of knowledge; it is established by scientific inquiry. The evidence goes on accumulating; we have not to appeal to something in the past which has now ceased; here and now and continually the evidence is forthcoming. It is possible to shut our minds to it, to refuse to listen to it or attend; but the rejection of fact is not a truly scientific attitude. The survival of man is becoming an item of scientific knowledge.

There is only one faint touch of hesitation in this pronouncement. At first we are told that survival "is" established by scientific inquiry; a few seconds later "is" suffers a change to "is becoming." I suspect that Sir Oliver felt the original statement to be a little too strong; since, if survival were demonstrated in the same way as the

electronic structure of matter there would really be no need to urge people, plead with them, to accept the evidence. The passage quoted is, however, a plain invitation to look at Spiritualism as a branch of science and to adopt a "truly scientific attitude" toward its marvels.

#### THE MOOD OF BEREAVEMENT

Yet this is surely the most difficult thing in the world, at any rate for warm-hearted folk. How can we be coldly dispassionate about a matter in which our deepest desires are engaged? How can a bereaved person, longing ardently to get into touch with the dead, approach a séance in the spirit of a physicist in search of a new element? The wish to find Spiritualism true is so strong, especially in time of mourning, that it makes people feel that Spiritualism *must* be true. In such a mood they are bound to open the door to evidence, which, if they were acting with scientific caution, they would never admit.

Here, indeed, is the rock on which Spiritualists and their opponents split asunder. Scientific men always try to shut their wishes out of court when evidence is being taken. They act in the spirit of the French scientist who said that there was nothing more dangerous for an experimenter than to find what he had been looking for. In the same spirit, no scientific discovery is accepted until it has been checked again and again by independent investigators working with the most vigorous and rigorous skepticism. At the Court of Science every prisoner is suspected until proved innocent by a cloud of witnesses before an implacable bench of unemotional judges.

Whatever Sir Oliver Lodge may say, things are totally different in the Court of Spiritualism. A few years ago Sir Arthur Conan Doyle said (in the preface to Sydney Moseley's book, *An Amazing Séance and an Exposure*): "It is my experience that in approaching this new world there is some psychic law by which one finds what one seeks." Could there be anything more significant than this naïve confession? It proves that Sir Arthur is worlds away from the "truly scientific attitude." At the same time it shows him to be a correct exponent of the truly Spiritualist attitude. Over and over again Spiritualists have insisted that inquirers must be *en rapport*. It is no use coming to a séance in a skeptical or scoffing mood. One must be receptive. One must hope for some manifestation and allow the gloom, the silence, the sense of mystery to bring about the expectant thrill which precedes every message from the unseen.

Spiritualists cannot have it both ways. They cannot claim to be thoroughly scientific when they ask people to approach the proofs of Spiritualism in a frame of mind which is thoroughly unscientific.

The gulf between the two may be measured by turning from a scientific classic like Darwin's *Origin of Species* to a spiritualistic classic like Conan Doyle's *History of Spiritualism*. In the one case there is a most careful weighing of evidence, an obvious desire not to accept any conclusion unless it follows inevitably from facts which have been examined and re-examined in the most critical spirit. In the other case there is an unconcealed bias, a virtual admission that the will-to-believe is regarded as a finer urge than the will-to-examine.

Conan Doyle, in fact, does not attempt to conceal his irritation and annoyance at the intrusion of the cold man of science into the Spiritualist field. The one spirit with which he is least anxious to get into affectionate communication is the spirit of science. For example:

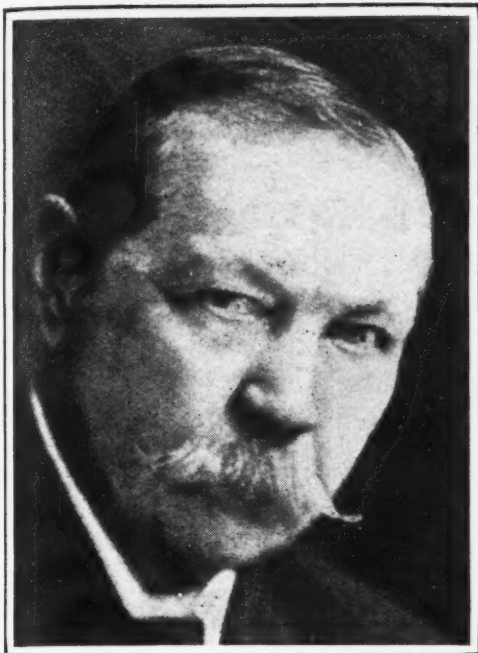
It is a thousand pities that Eva C. could not have had a chance to display her powers in the loving atmosphere of an old-fashioned Spiritualist séance. It is quite certain that a different order of materializations would have been the result. As a proof of this, Madame Bisson, in a private family circle with her, secured wonderful results never obtained with the thumb-screw methods of scientific investigators.

It is precisely this demand for a "loving atmosphere" that makes the scientific investigators apply "thumb-screw" methods to the "phenomena" of Spiritualism. They know that a loving atmosphere is the very one in which the senses are most prone to illusion. They know that the mood of ardent hope, of eager expectation, is an even more fertile source of error than the darkness in which most séances are held.

#### DIFFICULTY OF INVESTIGATION

What, one may fairly ask, is the use of asking us to examine Spiritualism with an open mind when we are told by Conan Doyle himself that "there are obvious difficulties in the way of collective investigations—difficulties which are so grave that they are almost insurmountable"? Referring to committees set up to investigate Spiritualism, he says:

They fail to understand that they themselves are part of the experiment and that it is possible for them to create such intolerable vibrations and to surround themselves with so negative an atmosphere that those outside forces, which are governed by very definite laws, are unable to penetrate it. \* \* \* If a small piece of metal may upset a magnetic installation, so a strong adverse psychic cur-



SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE,

The well-known story writer and leading British exponent of spiritualism

rent may ruin a psychic circle. It is for this reason and not on account of any superior credulity that practicing Spiritualists continually get such results as are never attained by mere researchers. This also may be the reason why the one committee on which Spiritualists were fairly well represented was the one which gained the most positive results. This was the committee which was chosen by the Dialectical Society of London, a committee which began its explorations early in 1869 and presented its report in 1871. If common sense and the ordinary laws of evidence had been followed in the reception of this report the progress of psychic truth would have been accelerated by fifty years.

In this important passage Conan Doyle surely begs the whole question at issue. He assumes, without bringing forward any proof whatever, that it is the skepticism of the skeptic which prevents the spirits revealing themselves. There is much better reason to believe that it is the believing attitude of the Spiritualist which makes him "see" things invisible to the normal eye.

Apart from that, however, "common sense and the laws of evidence" are dead against accepting, at its face value, the testimony of witnesses who are—to put it at the lowest—sympathetic. Common sense and the laws of evidence demand that the more marvelous an alleged occurrence appears to be the more cautiously and critically must we

approach the evidence. Yet Conan Doyle tells us that we shall never see anything unless we are "in one accord" with people who already believe.

To drive this vital point further home let us note what he has to say about one of the greatest marvels of Spiritualism. "Ectoplasm" is a "strange, elusive, protean" substance, which mediums can shoot out in rods and so move things at a distance. In the production of this mysterious substance "a harmonious atmosphere will help, while a carping, antagonistic one will hinder or totally prevent its appearance." The observer is also warned against meddling with it:

Any tampering with ectoplasm, unless its fraudulent production is a certainty, is to be deprecated, and the forcible dragging at the trumpet, or at any other object which is supported by the ectoplasmic rod, is nearly as dangerous as the exhibition of a light. The author has in mind one case where an ignorant sitter removed the trumpet, which was floating in front of him, from the circle. It was done silently, but none the less the medium complained of pain and sickness to those around her and was prostrated for some days.

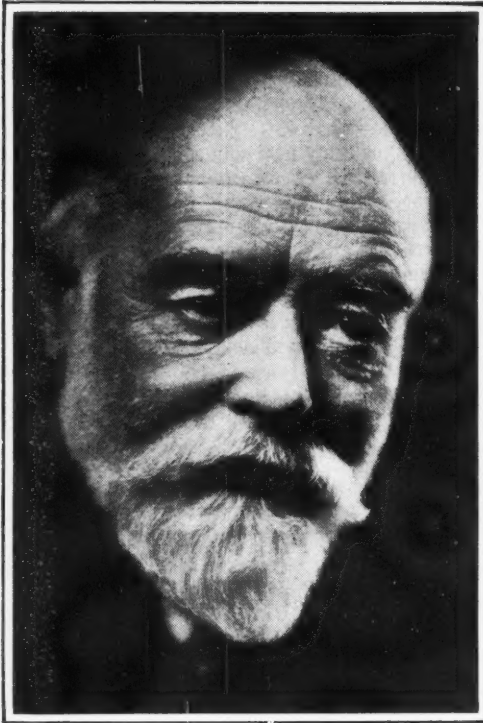
Conan Doyle does not tell us whether he, as a doctor of medicine, examined the medium to see whether the pain and sickness were real or diplomatic. "Common sense" will, I feel sure, come to a very definite conclusion on the matter, if only on the ground that the "laws of evidence" do not apply to a marvel which vanishes as soon as anybody becomes inquisitive.

The passages that have been quoted show that the "scientific" Spiritualist of today is not any more critical than the Spiritualist of old. He is really a devotee in a temple, not an investigator in the laboratory. The entire literature of Spiritualism bears witness to the hunger which leads to the swallowing of the most indigestible marvels. And this hunger is generally derived, as I have already mentioned, from some bereavement which awakens a passionate desire to get in touch with the dead. People in this unhappy "sympathetic" condition are so eager to snatch at anything which flatters hope that they see miracles where other people see nothing that cannot be explained on the simplest and most natural grounds.

#### "MESSAGE FROM DEAD WIFE"

As an illustration, take the passage which I am about to quote. It was written by a man who was converted to Spiritualism soon after the death of his wife, and it has all the more value because it was written to a friend and not for publication. The writer had asked a medium "to find my wife and obtain some message from her that would





SIR OLIVER LODGE,

The British physicist and a believer in spiritualism

convince me that she still lives." Here was the result:

My wife told the medium where certain documents would be found; she described the house I live in, the chair I sit in to read at night, the time I have gone to bed (very late) which I never used to during her life; she mentioned her two brothers and sister-in-law, and spoke of my sister being down from London on a visit to us; mentioned the draught, and the colour of it, that I used to dispense for her when she felt run down and scores of other evidential incidents and circumstances which only she could know.

Now, I think most people would admit that there is not a single item in this list—and the writer would certainly mention the most impressive—which is beyond the wit of the average private inquiry agent. Half an hour's conversation with a servant or an intimate friend would have given the medium any number of such "evidential incidents." Nevertheless, the information was enough to convince the bereaved husband that his wife was still "living" and was occupied in transmitting to him such trivial proofs of her existence.

It is a scientific law, though apparently

not a law of Spiritualism, that an extraordinary cause need not be alleged when an ordinary one will do. So long as it is possible for "evidential" information to be obtained by the every-day methods of a detective, so long is it incumbent upon us to accept the supernatural explanation with all reserve.

It is, in fact, comparatively easy to amaze people with unexpected knowledge of their private affairs and even of their private thoughts. By direct observation and still more by "putting two and two together," a skillful student of human nature can often light upon something which a man imagines to be known—and knowable—by himself alone.

The famous thought-reader Zancig is accustomed to amuse himself when on board ship by giving thought-reading performances of a type altogether different from those arranged on the stage. Instead of merely transmitting to his wife the information he himself holds he actually does attempt to "read people's thoughts." In one case a fellow traveler had told him, in a casual burst of confidence, about "domestic troubles." A few days later Zancig gave the passengers his performance and told this man that he had had trouble in his household due to interference by relatives. The man was astonished at what seemed a display of occult power: he reasoned that Zancig could not possibly have known the precise cause of his troubles. Yet all that Zancig had done was to apply the common experience that domestic trouble usually arises from relatives interfering between husband and wife!

An astute medium, following the same plan, may achieve still more impressive results with people who are longing to be convinced about the marvels of Spiritualism. This being so and big money awaiting the successful practitioner, it is not surprising that mediumship is a flourishing profession. Nor is it surprising that the shadow of fraud lies across the whole history of Spiritualism, from the Fox sisters, through Horne, the Davenport brothers, the Holmeses, Eusapia Palladino and all the others onward to the present day.

#### CONAN DOYLE'S DEFENSE

Conan Doyle's *History of Spiritualism* is really a passionate defense of all the great figures in Spiritualism against the suspicion—and more—of fraud. After reading it one asks oneself: Where is the medium whose *bona fides* is not in doubt? Conan Doyle's anger against the people who suspect or impute fraud is itself an accu-



sation, but he gives us something more direct than that:

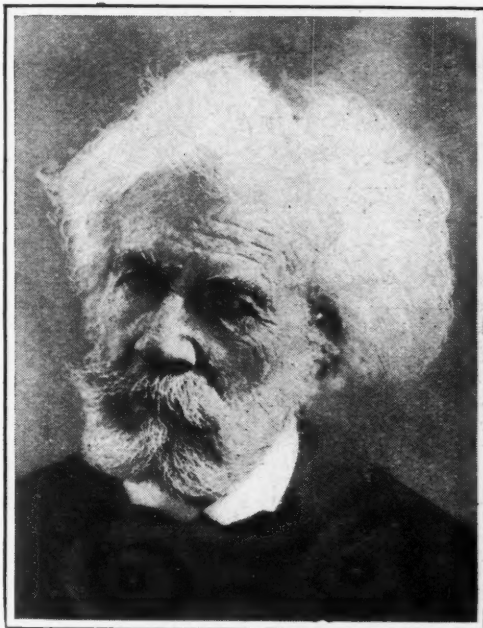
Under our present unintelligent conditions the physical medium is subjected to moral risks which it takes a strong and well-guarded nature to withstand. \* \* \* These dangers lie in the weakening of the will, in the extreme debility after phenomenal sittings and the temptation to gain temporary relief from alcohol, in the temptation to fraud when the power wanes and in the mixed and possibly noxious spirit influences which surround a promiscuous circle, drawn together from motives of curiosity rather than of religion.

Again, in the case of the spirit photograph, Conan Doyle says that "we cannot deny, however, that it has been occasionally made the tool of rogues, nor can we confidently assert that, because some results of any medium are genuine, we are therefore justified in accepting without question whatever else may come."

These confessions really settle the question so far as fraud is concerned. I once heard Conan Doyle say that some mediums are black, some gray and some white, but he did not offer any means of testing their true color. If it be argued that men of science like Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge are not likely to be tricked, there are two answers ready. One is that men of science are not always free from the weakness of the will-to-believe. Another is that, in studying séances and the like, they are dealing with things which are totally different from the study of substances in the laboratory. The possibility of fraud has not to be considered in scientific experiments which any one may repeat for himself, but it certainly has to be considered in examining "phenomena" in darkened rooms. Even in a brilliant light it needs a specially trained eye to detect how the simplest sleight-of-hand trick is done.

It is worth remembering that Zancig managed to carry through his thought-reading performance under conditions which the most expert magicians in London—organized as the "Magic Circle"—devised in order to make any communication impossible between Zancig and his colleague. If he cared would not such a man be able to trick, *in the dark*, all the physicists in all the universities?

It is, by the way, a curious fact that the men of science who take up Spiritualism are generally physicists. Rarely, if ever, does a biologist or a psychologist follow their example, probably because their scientific work makes them directly acquainted with the fallibility of the human senses. The ease with which the eye and the ear and the touch are deceived is familiar to



Underwood

#### CAMILLE FLAMMARION,

The French astronomer, another well-known scientist who became a spiritualist

the psychologist and he knows also that the complex human mind has a wonderful capacity for self-delusion.

Of late years "automatic writing" has become very fashionable as a form of spirit communication. Conan Doyle exempts such "internal mediumship" from the suspicion of fraud and we can well afford to consider all automatic writers as "pure white." A little study of the unconscious mind would suggest how these outpourings occur, but the most direct reason for disregarding them is the vapid nature of the "revelations."

Conan Doyle puts Vale Owen at the head of automatic writers. His script, he says, "constitutes an account of life after death and a body of philosophy and advice from unseen sources which seems to the author to bear every internal sign of a high origin." Opinions will differ, of course, about the degree of imaginative power displayed by any literary work. I, for example, find Vale Owen's pictures of the world beyond, with its bridges and inns, and choirs and what not, very feeble essays in imagery. But there is no doubt whatever that they contain nothing outside the range of ordinary human experience. There is far more originality in one of H. G. Wells's fantas-

tic romances, but Wells never thought of claiming a "high origin" for his vision of the Martians or the men who ate the food of the gods.

#### A FRUITLESS SUBJECT

Here we touch upon what is, in a double sense, a final reflection on the history of Spiritualism. From first to last, *Spiritualism has not added a single grain to human knowledge*. Most of the messages which are supposed to come from the spirits are either meaningless gabble or trivial beyond expression. In *Raymond*, which is a classic of Spiritualism, the messages sent from the dead son to the living father (Sir Oliver Lodge) are, with their talk about cigars and "whisky sodas" and "earth clothes," not only silly but painfully silly. Spiritualists do their best to explain the reasons for this pervading inanity, but their explanations do not touch the fact that spirit messages, at their best, are no better than any ingenious man or woman could invent without any assistance from the other side.

A tree is known by its fruits. Why is it that the tree of Spiritualism, which is supposed to be supernatural, which has been cultivated so assiduously by thousands of people for so many years, produces nothing but the most commonplace fruit? With all the talk about revelations there has never been in an intellectual sense any revelation worth talking about. Here we may dis-

cover part of the reason why the craze for Spiritualism goes in waves which rise and fall, but record no real progress. After the flush of expectation disappointment ensues.

For the rest, the failure of Spiritualism to advance like any other branch of science is due to the fact that the world is growing out of its primitive animism. We look back with amusement mingled with surprise on the days when priests used to exorcise demons, when witches had evil spirits as their "familiars," when every baptized soul had its guardian angel, when every aristocratic house had its duly authenticated ghost. We see natural law at work in what used to be considered the spiritual world. Familiar with the doctrine of evolution, we find some difficulty in deciding where, in the scale of animal development or in the growth of the individual from an embryo, the immortal soul enters into the body and uses it—in Sir Oliver Lodge's phrase—as a violinist uses a violin. Some of us even feel that the desire for communion with a loved and lost one should be balanced—at least as a ground of faith in the possibility of spirit messages—by our dislike of the idea that certain people who have passed over are still able to interfere with our affairs!

It is not entirely "materialism" that makes us put "not proven" against the case for Spiritualism; it is a rational form of the caveman's dislike of the spirits that lingered too near the houses of the living.



# Iceland in 1927

By THORSTINA JACKSON

Author of *Saga Islendinga in North Dakota*; Decorated by King Christian of Denmark  
For This Work

JUST when the attention of the nations was focused on the armistice Iceland was granted its autonomy by Denmark on Dec. 1, 1918. The country that had been the last refuge of the liberty-loving nobles of North Europe in their attempt to resist the autocracy of kings before the year 1000 was once more an independent State. The Icelanders were given a new lease on life by this event, which revived the virile spirit of their golden age and inspired a desire to recreate the days of the republic (930-1262). The centuries of retrogression were forgotten, as well as the evils of foreign abuse, isolation and pestilence; a new era had dawned whose watchwords were progress and achievement.

The nationalistic movement in Iceland had gradually gained influence from the time when Denmark granted the Icelanders a Constitution in 1874, insuring home rule and free trade. The beginning of the twentieth century broke the barrier of isolation by connecting Iceland with the rest of the world by a cable and establishing a network of telephone lines all over the country. This advance was followed by the building of an Icelandic steamship line that was destined to be an important factor in the country's development.

It was during the war that the Icelanders fully realized that they could manage their own affairs; Denmark was not in a position to give them much assistance at the time and thus they had to depend on their own initiative. They prospered through the exorbitant price of fish they exported in large quantities to the British Isles, breaking the German submarine blockade and carrying on a very profitable trade. Now and then they paid the penalty of their daring and were brought face to face with the grim realities of war. Numerous boats were sunk, but the lure of the British pounds as well as the realization of the great need for their products made this risky trade a favorite sport of the hardy Icelandic sailors.

Iceland widened its markets during the war by engaging in a thriving trade with America. The Icelanders astonished their American business associates by complain-

ing of the wintry blasts off Boston and New York, not so surprising in the light of the fact that the Icelandic capital, Reykjavik, has a temperature that is never below 2 degrees Fahrenheit, and the north coast on the rim of the Arctic Circle is not colder than Chicago. Increased prosperity and more varied activities stimulated the growth of the nationalistic party, and, taking advantage of the chaos in Europe, the nation began to bring pressure to bear upon Denmark for more liberty, which finally culminated in the treaty of 1918, giving the Icelanders the status of a nation with a right to fly their own flag. Later they joined the League of Nations as an independent State. The country recognizes the King of Denmark as Chief Executive, but the affairs of the land are in the hands of a Parliament, a Premier and a Cabinet.

The Icelandic fleet consists of two battle-ships, Thor and Odin, the chief occupation of which is to guard against foreign trawlers fishing within the prescribed limits. These two boats are record breakers in capturing foreign encroachers. The usual fine is £1,000, all equipment and fish. Recently a complaint was made in the British Parliament relating to the exorbitant fines that British fishermen had to pay to the Icelanders, but the injured fishermen were informed that it was not the policy of Great Britain to encourage law-breaking, therefore if their trawlers were captured for overstepping their rights they would have to abide by the consequences. The Icelanders place all the money received through these fines in a fund for building a fleet of patrol boats. Thus if the Thor and the Odin, now the sum total of their fleet, continue their activities with as much vim as in the past Iceland will soon be guarded by all the Norse gods in the guise of police patrol boats.

The idea is prevalent that the Icelanders are on the whole serious and melancholy, whereas, on the contrary, they have a liberal allowance of Celtic humor that blends very well with the perseverance and poise of the Norse strain. They are prone to quarrel among themselves in true Celtic fashion, but seldom carry such quarrels to



excess, for the nation is very law-abiding. They generally limit themselves to verbal tirades, which the picturesque Icelandic renders very effective. Many possess the gift of poetry and the quantity of ironic verse, ridiculing and abusing opponents in community disagreements would fill volumes. Some of this spontaneous poetry is very ably set forth, but, unfortunately, so saturated with local color as to be untranslatable. However, the practical Norse side of the Icelanders causes them to recognize the value of cooperation, as is exemplified by the success of their cooperative stores.

The classic literature of Iceland has always been essentially the property of the common people, and therefore the country has never developed an illiterate peasant class. In fact, many of the finest literary gems in the country have been and are produced by the farmers. It is a well-known fact that when the academically trained Icelanders wish to write the most classic style he endeavors to copy the every-day diction of the farmer.

#### HOME LIFE

The *badstofa*, or living room, in the country homes in Iceland has been the strongest factor in preserving the language unchanged as well as in maintaining the exceptionally high literary standard of the people in general. It is there that the most intimate picture of Icelandic home life is to be found, especially during the dusky Winter afternoons and evenings. There the family assembles and each person has his or her appointed tasks. The women sew, knit, spin and do fancy work, while the men card wool, make and mend tools. One person, who is

the reader of the household, has a seat of honor directly underneath the lamp. He reads from ancient and modern Icelandic literature and often translates Danish books by sight. English books are not uncommon in the Icelandic homes. The very nature of the Icelandic language is such that it is easy for the people to acquire other languages. Sometimes the entertainer sings one of the numerous Icelandic ballads and the audience joins in the refrain, the women working their spinning wheels in time to the music. It is in the living room that Icelandic youth receives its most effective training in the literature of the country, and the influence is noticeable in the ordinary speech of the children, which is singularly free from slang. This reading is not superficial, as is proved by the fact that the reader halts frequently, permitting the book to fall on his lap, and immediately there arises a lively discussion as to the subject matter. The Icelanders delight in arguments, and many and varied are the opinions expressed in this oral analysis. In the majority of cases this gathering in the living room is brought to a close by family worship. A passage is read from the Bible or a book of sermons, and the people join in singing hymns. The towns of Iceland are well equipped with schools, but in the country districts the elementary education is carried on in the home and the mothers are the chief instructors. A traveling tutor usually spends about six weeks on each farm during the Winter. It is worthy of note that children in the country communities are ready for high school and comparatively as well prepared as American children of the same age.



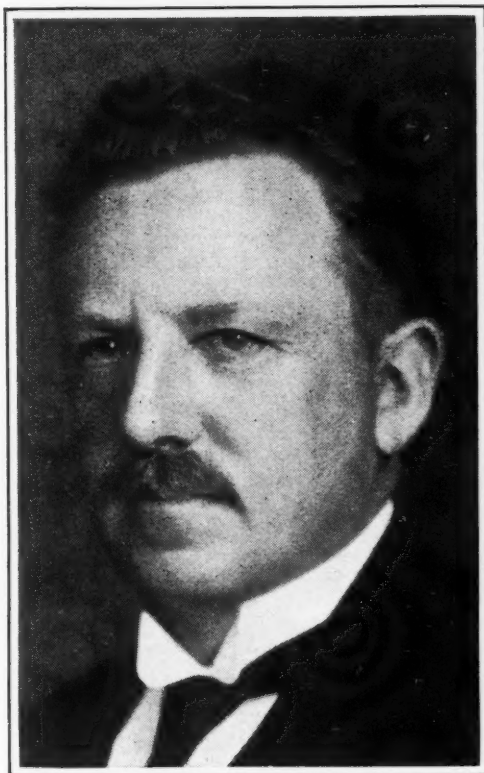
Map showing the position of Iceland in the North Atlantic Ocean

No class in Iceland is as essentially Icelandic as the farmers; they are first and foremost individualists. They are not particularly progressive in their calling, but they seem to know the art of obtaining the greatest amount of comfort and happiness out of their environment. The Icelandic farmer is a wide reader and his interests extend far beyond his homestead. The writer made a cross-country horseback tour of Iceland and enjoyed the privilege of meeting many people in the country communities. She arrived one evening at a farmhouse after perhaps ten hours of riding across mountains and moors, inhaling the exhilarating air of the north. The first task of her hosts was to satisfy a very keen appetite by the many excellent dishes for which the Icelandic housewife is justly famed. Ability to speak the language broke the restraint that foreigners feel at first; and after a most satisfying meal the host began to put her through a species of third degree. "You come from a wonderful country, but isn't your population growing too fast?" "Have you really pitched your tents over there?" "Do many people believe it was Leifur Eiriksson who discovered America?" "I understand that they have an Icelandic library of 15,000 volumes at Cornell; do you think many people read those books?" Of the American Presidents Lincoln and Roosevelt are the most popular. A biography of the former has just appeared in Icelandic, a volume of considerable size, and this book seemed to be in almost every home visited. The radio makes a strong appeal to the Icelandic farmers and they are confident that it is going to be an important force in overcoming the handicaps of isolation.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

Iceland with a population of 100,000 has two main ways of gaining a living: farming and fishing. During the last few years fishing has become a leading industry and the yearly export has reached as high as 70,000,000 crowns yearly. Geologically the country has not been much explored, and therefore little is known about probable raw materials.

The Icelandic farmer is beginning to show signs of desiring to improve his land so as to have large herds of cattle and sheep, the only practicable farming in Iceland on account of the lack of Summer heat, which prevents grain from being cultivated to any extent, although the soil is excellent. A large area of waste land

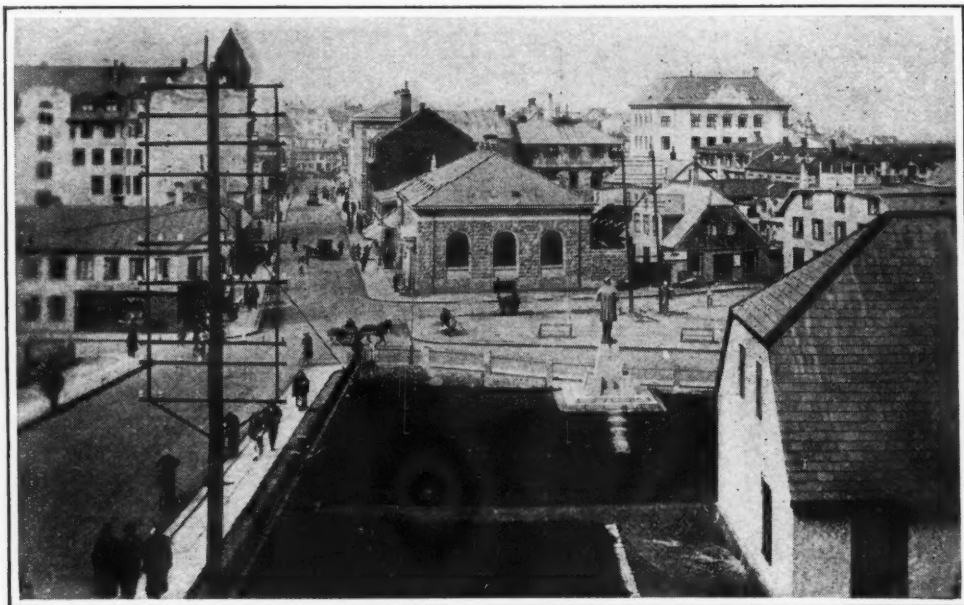


JON THORLAKSSON,  
Premier of Iceland

could be cultivated if modern scientific methods were introduced.

The numerous hot springs are another potential factor in the development of the country. Some are already being used for heating certain municipal buildings, swimming pools, hot houses, and so forth. A plan is being considered for establishing a central heating system in Reykjavik, a city of 25,000 inhabitants, and using the hot springs as a source of heat. By doing that it is estimated that the saving will be equal to 20,000 tons of fuel annually.

Icelandic waterpower is, however, the greatest potential element in the development of Iceland. The country has 4,000,000 horsepower and of that only 4,000 are in use, principally to light Reykjavik and the leading towns. A number of farmers are making their own installations from a nearby fall or river, thus using electricity for cooking, lighting and heating purposes in their homes. One advantage that Icelandic waterpower possesses is a uniformity of flow owing to the slight changes in the



A view of Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland

Summer and Winter temperature. Viewed from the standpoint of industry, the excellent harbors of the country, which are open all year, facilitate transportation. The Icelanders are in favor of developing their waterpower within certain limits, but not to the extent of importing much for-

eign labor. At the present time there is not a marked gulf between the employer and employe, at least not so great that they do not take an interest in each other's affairs.

The ambition of Young Iceland to become a real force in the educational world



At the celebration of the grant to Iceland of the right to fly its own flag. The statue in the background is that of Jon Sigurdsson, the George Washington of Iceland, by the sculptor Einar Jonsson



through a well equipped university specializing in Norse language and literature quite overshadows the desire for economic development. Iceland is logically the place for such an institution, inasmuch as it was there that the Eddas and Sagas were recorded; and the native language of today differs only slightly from Old Norse. The present university has a strong faculty, men educated abroad as well as in their own country; and proportionately to the

written for century after century with painstaking care. It is possible to trace the history of every Icelander to the early eighteenth century and the majority to the colonial days, that is, a thousand years. The Icelandic educationalists maintain that such an institution would be an invaluable asset; that it would serve not only as a reliable "Domesday Book" of the Icelandic nation, but would also be of marked importance to the student of anthropology



A sheep farm in Iceland

population it has a large student body, but the buildings and all equipment are in a most discouraging state of insufficiency. The dream of Iceland is to see this condition improved and to establish an educational centre that will encourage foreigners to come and take graduate work in Norse literature and language as well as permit Iceland to employ instructors in numerous technical fields. The university faculty is also desirous of erecting an Institute of Genealogy and Genetics. In all probability no nation has as much material on the history of her children as the Icelanders; genealogy has been their favorite hobby ever since the Saga period; a mass of material has been compiled on the subject and the history of certain families

and become a basis for reaching conclusions as to the acquired and inherited traits and tendencies of the race.

Icelandic art has begun to assert itself recently; increased leisure and opportunity have given a great stimulus to that phase of Icelandic culture. At present Iceland has a renowned sculptor, Einar Jonsson, in whose museum are to be found what critics in many parts of the world call poems in stone. There are other less famous exponents of Icelandic art, among them painters, sculptors and wood carvers.

In 1930 Iceland is planning to celebrate the thousand years of its Althing, or Parliament, established in June, 930. It is significant that this millennial jubilee comes at a time when there are many signs of advancement in the country.

# New England's Industrial Reawakening

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

Lately Lecturer on American History, Yale University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

IT was not by chance that the Governors of the six New England States who attended the Conference of Governors at Poland Springs, Me., in July, 1925, fell to talking informally about the state and prospects of their part of the country. For more than a generation New Englanders themselves had been forced to admit that New England was falling behind. The social and economic solidarity which had given the region distinction until after the Civil War had waned, and State separatism had taken the place of regional unity. Each of the six States could, to be sure, point to commendable recent progress in one or another direction (the development of good roads was a notable illustration), but inter-State cooperation was weak, and even within a State the cities and towns more often than not went their several ways, unmindful of what their neighbors did or planned.

To many observers the decline appeared to be connected with the marked changes which had taken place in the character of the population. Ever since the time, shortly after the Civil War, when an influx of French Canadians had begun to displace native-born labor in New England mills, the foreign element in the population had increased in numbers and variety. Of a total population of 7,400,909 in 1920, 1,870,654 were foreign-born whites. Those who owned Canada as their birthplace numbered 474,346, while Italy had furnished 238,508 and Poland 131,378. The foreign admixture was largest in Massachusetts, where 1,077,534 out of a total population of 3,852,356 were foreign born. Grouped at first mainly in the mill towns, the foreign population was spreading into the country, small land-holdings growing rapidly into larger ones, with the Italians leading in what in some districts amounted almost to a monopoly of market gardening.

Whatever the social effects of immigration might be, New England industry in particular showed evidence of losing its grip. Idle mills, mills running on part time, irritating wage cuts, vanishing divi-

dends, and the invasion of New England markets by products no better than could be produced at home, all testified to the fact that industrially New England was slipping. What was more, and in some ways worse, New England was complaining—complaining that the South was luring away its spindles and looms, that its capital was seeking investment afield, that its apples came from Washington, its poultry and butter from Michigan or New York, its manufactured iron and steel from Pennsylvania or Alabama; in short, that New England no longer counted as it used to count, and that the times, rather than New England, were to blame.

Upon two things the Governors were agreed. Something must be done, and whatever was done should be done cooperatively. They accordingly appointed a Joint Committee of Eighteen, three from each State, "to devise some means whereby comprehensive views of problems common to New England States could be developed and maintained," and the efforts of existing organizations "coordinated for the promotion of the growth and prosperity of New England." The outcome of the deliberations of the Joint Committee was the New England Conference, and a systematic campaign to put New England once more on the map.

The organization of the Conference and of its executive agency, the New England Council, adopted at the first annual meeting at Worcester, Mass., on Nov. 12 and 13, 1925, and perfected at the second annual meeting at Hartford, Conn., on Nov. 18 and 19, 1926, is simple. The membership of the Conference comprises all agricultural, commercial or industrial organizations in New England that may choose to join, each member organization being entitled to three delegates. At each annual meeting each State delegation chooses the members of a State Council, a body of twelve members serving for two years, one-half retiring annually, and the seventy-two members of the State Councils form collectively the New England Council.

The officers of the Conference, in addition to the president, treasurer and secretary, comprise an executive vice president and six vice presidents. The latter officers are the chairmen, respectively, of the State Councils, each of which bodies has its own organization; the other Conference officers are chosen by the New England Council, the president for one year, the remainder for indeterminate periods.

Although the Council owes its inception to the Governors, neither it nor the several State Councils has any official connection with any State Government. The Conference, in turn, although made up of representatives of business organizations, is not, as sometimes happens, an aggregation of officials, for the *Rules* which serve as a constitution expressly provide that no salaried officer or employee shall be a delegate. The Council has, however, received the cordial cooperation of various State officials, notably in the consideration or execution of plans for agriculture, forestry, and power transmission, and a number of industrial or trade organizations, among them the railways, the bankers and leading manufacturing interests, have lent their aid. A list of the members of the State Councils and cooperating bodies reads like a *Who's Who* of New England captains of industry, agriculture and trade.

This, briefly, is the organizational side. What has the New England Council accomplished in the past year and a half and what are its plans?

#### REVIVAL OF COOPERATION

First, and in some ways most important of all, the Council has begun to revive the cooperative spirit and a concern for New England interests as a whole. The presence at Hartford last November of some 1,200 business men, representing virtually every important aspect of industry, commerce and agriculture in the six New England States, was a striking testimony to the awakened belief that the economic and social welfare of New England, in so far as the activity of a formal association could affect it, was best to be dealt with as a whole, with as little regard to State lines as the exigencies of diverse laws and administrative systems would permit. New England was a unit before the Conference was born, but the Conference and the Council have recovered for it a consciousness of unity. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he," and the thought of New England has begun to change.

Three aspects in particular of the Coun-

cil's more specific work have attracted wide attention. At the first annual meeting of the Conference at Worcester, Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, outlined a plan for the cooperative treatment of the power problem in New England, urging the conservation and development of water power resources as a whole and the creation of an integrated system of power transmission which should insure a free flow of power throughout the region in accordance with its needs.

Acting upon this suggestion a committee of the Council has undertaken a comprehensive study of the power situation and has laid down certain principles designed, among other things, to remedy the serious difficulties occasioned by diverse or contradictory State laws, the limited jurisdiction of State utilities commissions where inter-State problems arise, and to define the proper lines of demarcation between State and Federal authority. In the inquiry it developed that the New England power companies were for the most part going their several ways, often without general plan or knowledge of what other companies proposed. The companies were induced to appoint a committee to represent the industry, with the president of the Boston Edison Company as Chairman, and that committee has since been cooperating with the Power Committee of the Council in developing Mr. Young's suggestions.

If New England has seemed to many only a hive of industry or an unhappy state of mind, it has long been to thousands of others a favorite rest-room or playground. The Council has undertaken to develop the recreational resources of New England "as a capital asset of the first magnitude." Thanks to its inspiration and guidance its Recreational Resources Committee was able to report at the Hartford meeting the formation of the Berkshire Hills Conference, representing more than a score of local committees, together with a number of other regional groups, for the cooperative development of their offerings to tourists; substantial increases in advertising expenditures in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, in the latter State with a substantial growth in the volume of hotel and tourist business; organized efforts on the part of twenty-nine cities and towns to attract Summer visitors; and a campaign, jointly with the legal and public health officials of the States, to improve the sanitary condition of motor-tourist camps and wayside lodging houses. The timeliness of such ef-

forts, not to speak of direct financial returns, appears when one learns that the number of motorists who crossed the Vermont-Canada border in 1926 exceeded by 300,000 the number who crossed in 1925.

A third activity of special significance is industrial research. Is New England industrially actually declining? If it is, what are the reasons? Are the States and local communities really interested in keeping the industries that they have, or are they taxing them to death or regulating them out of existence? Are the industries themselves efficient, and is there room for industrial expansion?

At some of these points conditions were discouraging. "An examination of the machinery schedule of a New England mill, which is said to be typical of several in its community, discloses the fact," it was reported, "that the average age of all machinery in the plant is 23½ years. More than 50 per cent. of the looms are over twenty-five years old; 75 per cent. of the mules are twenty-eight years old or more; 50 per cent. of the cards were more than twenty-two years old; 90 per cent. of the spinning frames twenty-five years old or more, and 100 per cent. of the warpers more than thirty-five years old." Inquiries by the Council showed few communities that were exerting themselves to gain new industries, and a large proportion of questionnaires sent out by the Council brought no response.

#### INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATIONS

It is such conditions that the Council has undertaken to study thoroughly and over an extended period, wisely concluding that a work involving ten years cannot be finished in a few months. Meantime, however, a hopeful beginning has been made. With the aid of a firm of industrial engineers

and a member of the Faculty of the Harvard School of Business Administration, the Research Committee of the Council has already published three elaborate statistical reports on the merchandizing of shoes, cotton dress goods and knitted underwear and hosiery. The launching of these investigations led the directors of the New Hampshire Lumbermen's Association to ask the Council to undertake a similar investigation of the New England lumber industries, the wooden box section of which alone does a business of some \$20,000,000 a year, and the work has gone on under the supervision of the Director of the Harvard Forest. Directly or indirectly the Committee has exerted itself to hold industries that were upon the point of leaving, to bring in outside industries and develop new ones, to secure a better diversification of industries and full-time operation of factories and to pave the way for improved equipment.

The New England Conference and New England Council represent the most interesting and elaborate effort that is now being made in the United States for purely regional development along economic and social lines. The movement is the more interesting because it is non-political, in the States but politically not of them, and dependent upon the voluntary cooperation of citizens for its support and the attainment of its ends. Where cooperation with the Federal Government or the States has been practicable, such cooperation has been welcomed; there is cooperation with the Department of Commerce, for example, to the extent of avoiding duplication; but with politics the movement has nothing to do. What its full outcome may be is, of course, a matter of the future, but, at the moment, it seems destined to go a long way in the direction of making New England new.





# Bagdad, Old and New

By REUBEN LEVY

Lecturer on Persian in the University of Cambridge, England

WHEN on March 11, 1917, the British troops under General Maude captured Bagdad, this city of romantic legend and chequered history finally became a place of ordinary prose. Lying at a point in the Mesopotamian plain where the Tigris and Euphrates approach to within thirty miles of one another, Bagdad is now the capital of the Kingdom of Iraq, a mandated territory under the British Government, striving in common with other former portions of the Turkish Empire to become a modern State with all the features of a civilization so unlike that which the Orient until recently has known.

Within a radius of sixty miles of Bagdad, in the area lying between the mountains of Persia and the Syrian desert, the alluvial plains of the two rivers have for centuries had their capital. Sargon's city of Akkad was there about 2650 B. C. It was followed by a series of royal seats that included Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, the Seleucia of Alexander the Great's successors; Ctesiphon, capital of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanians, and finally Bagdad, that has lasted longer than any of the others. The reason for the persistence of large communities in this neighborhood is to be sought not only in the fertility brought about by the nearness of the two great rivers, but also in the geographical factor which makes the trade routes from Persia to the Mediterranean and from the Mosulara to the Persian Gulf cross each other near here.

The age of Bagdad itself is a matter of dispute. The Arab tradition is that the city was founded by the second Abbasid Caliph, Mansur, son of al-Saffah, the "Blood-shedder," in 762 A. D., when it became necessary to move the capital of the Caliphates from Damascus to a site nearer Persia. But a boundary stone of the twelfth century B. C. has been found inscribed with cuneiform characters reading *Bag-da-du*, which indicates the existence on the spot of a tribal settlement of ancient standing. The story which the Arabs themselves tell of the founding of the city implies that the site was already occupied by

a Christian monastery when Mansur came upon it, and that it was by the advice of a Christian monk, who pointed out the healthy situation and strategic value of the place, that the Caliph decided to put his new capital there.

Whatever the human habitation may have been that originally stood on the spot it was the Abbasids who created a great city there, on the right bank of the Tigris, about two miles upstream of where the modern town now lies. It was constructed by Mansur in the form of a circle, in the very middle of which he put his own residence with a clear space all round. The bazaars, which sprang up to supply the needs of the population, soon attracted merchants from all quarters of the empire, from the Indus to the Mediterranean and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. The town became the emporium of the Caliphate, encouraging the growth of a new citizen class drawn neither from desert villages nor from military camps. This new class later became the backbone of Bagdad's population and founded its prosperity. Owing to the rapid growth of trade, even before the end of Mansur's reign, the arcades in which the bazaars were housed had become too small for the abundant wares imported into them. The remedy was found in the removal of the trading quarter right outside the city to the south, to the district known as the Karkh, where there was room for expansion. Here the market quarter increased in importance till it gave its name to the whole of that part of Bagdad which lies on the right bank of the Tigris.

Further expansion led to the establishment of a suburb on the left bank, opposite the Round City. It began with a military camp for Mansur's son Mahdi. Among those who built sumptuous dwellings here were the famous family of the Barmecides, destined to perish so tragically at the hands of the dynasty they had worked to establish. Soon the one suburb became three, and the communication between East and West Bagdad was more or less permanently assured by three bridges built on boats or pontoons.



Main street, Bagdad. The three figures in white are Jewish women wearing horsehair vizors

By the time of the "Golden Prime of Good Haroun al Rashid," Bagdad had become, as Burton has it in the introduction to his "Arabian Nights," that "city of palaces and offices, hotels and pavilions, mosques and colleges, kiosks and squares, bazaars and markets, pleasure grounds and orchards," which lingers in the imagination as the most romantic capital of all time.

In the days that followed Haroun the city's brilliant prosperity began to lessen in consequence of a civil war for the succession between his two sons. When Amin, the profligate elder son, was at last slain and the city reduced by the troops of his brother, Ma'mun, most of the fine buildings for which it had been famous had been destroyed by fire or by stones slung from mangonels; and, from the fact that the State archives perished, it may be inferred that the royal habitations did not escape the general ruin.

The rebuilding of the city did not restore its first splendor; the new Caliphs had not the wealth of their predecessors and, moreover, in their search for security they put themselves in the power of foreign bodyguards, who tyrannized over them. For a time during the ninth century the capital was removed from Bagdad to Samarra in order to put a stop to the con-

stant fighting in the streets between the brutal Turkish and African troops and citizens they outraged. The result achieved by the removal was negligible, and when a return was made to Bagdad, the Commander of the Faithful was a toy to be bargained and manoeuvred for by rival claimants to authority. The decline in the temporal power of the Caliph meant the falling away of outlying portions of the empire, with a consequent loss of importance to the capital. It still, however, possessed wealth plentiful enough to attract the adventurers who are bound to arise in a country where a dagger may gain a crown. Turkish Captains of the Guard were followed by Buyid tribal chiefs, who left the Caliph his own title and themselves assumed that of "Emir of Emirs." They, in their turn, were succeeded by the Seljuk Sultans, under whom Bagdad became a minor part in a vast empire, in whose vicissitudes, both good and ill, it shared.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, when its greatest calamity fell upon it, the Round City of Mansur was in complete ruin. Fire and siege had laid it waste. Floods had disintegrated the mud bricks of which it was built. The principal part of the city now lay on the left bank of the Tigris, and here, in 1258 A. D., came

Hulagu the Mongol, with his horde of savage barbarians, in a wave of conquest and destruction that swept all before it. A short siege of less than three weeks starved the city into surrender, and for a week after its capitulation it was given up to the sack. Though the fierceness of the Mongol character had wrought untold harm, it was also capable, when disciplined, of stern government that brought order out of chaos. We hear in the fourteenth century of Mongol Princes who made their Winter quarters at Bagdad, which became the capital of the province of Iraq. About the middle of the same century reconstruction reached the stage of the erection of public buildings, one example being the Mirjaniya mosque, which still stands.

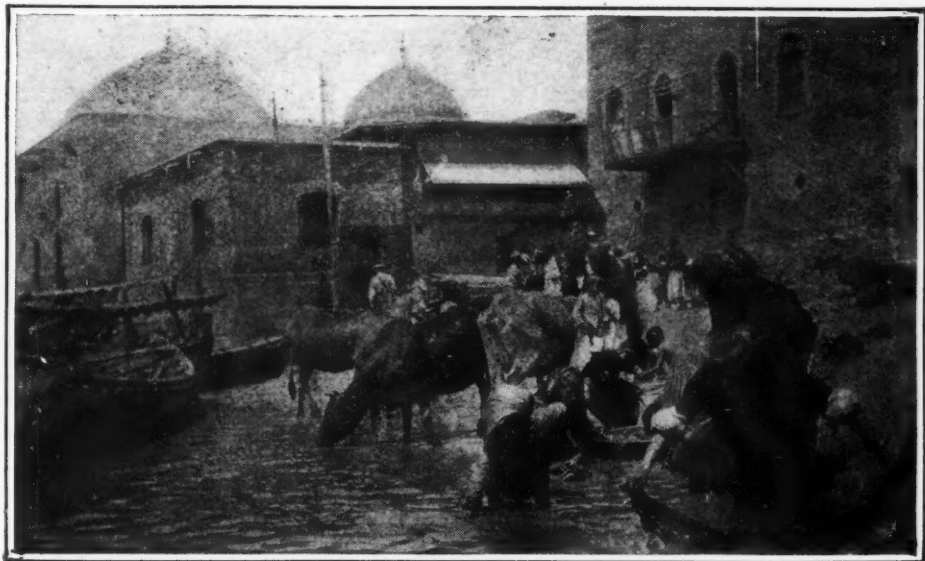
A second Mongol or Tartar wave, this time under the redoubtable Tamerlane, in 1401 poured over the lands of the Near East and prostrated Bagdad in fresh ruin. A century later, when the Mongol star had waned, the Safawi monarch Shah Ismail, in restoring the fortunes of Persia, added Bagdad to his empire. But not for long, for Turkey under Suleiman the Magnificent coveted it, and it passed backward and forward between Turkish and Persian hands until in 1638, when its once teeming population had been reduced to 14,000, it finally came to rest in Turkish possession and became the seat of a Pasha.

For decades the city vegetated. To non-Moslems and especially to Europeans, it

had always been an almost inaccessible spot on account of lawless Arab tribes who roamed and still roam the country round it. The very name of the place was known only very confusedly. It was not until 1704, when the French Orientalist Antoine Galland translated the "Arabian Nights" into French—thus for the first time making them available in a European tongue—that the Western world definitely began to take an interest in the city.

The opening up of commerce with Mesopotamia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increasingly attracted attention to Bagdad; but the travelers who risked the difficult and often dangerous journey there were not impressed on arrival either by any Oriental charm or by Occidental facilities for entertaining wayfarers. Visitors to it were therefore few and accounts of it scanty until the Bagdad railway became a common topic of conversation. Then in 1917 the city came into British possession.

For over six centuries and a half, from the time that Halagu the Mongol had devastated it, the "City of Peace" had lain in the midst of desolation where once there had been what has been called the granary of the world. It was too well placed upon important trade routes to die out as an emporium of commerce, but as far as its spiritual life was concerned it was moribund. The vast majority of the population were of different race and temperament



Watering place on the Tigris in Bagdad



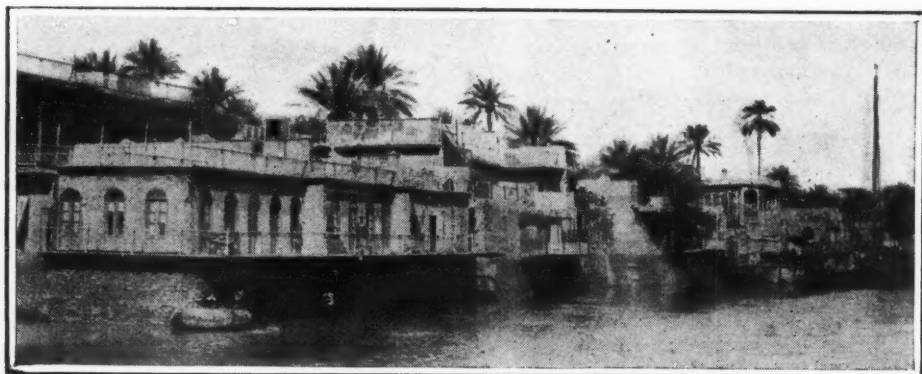


The Kazimain Mosque, Bagdad

from that of the ruling class, who had neither capacity for government nor sympathy with the governed. Bagdad, during Turkish days, was regarded at Constantinople as a place of exile for officials fallen into disfavor or as a source for the extraction of revenue. On their side the inhabitants found little advantage from Turkish government and little attempt to satisfy their desires and needs. Representation at the Ottoman capital, even in the days of the constitution, was farcical; taxation, on the other hand, was very real, since concessions for the gathering of the State dues were farmed out to the highest bidder, who, with the gendarmerie or the army at his back, plundered the unfortunates delivered into his hands of every penny he could extract.

Education, where there was any, was for the most part the result of private effort, while the one or two official schools that existed made it their business to Ottomanize their pupils. Newspapers were subject to rigid censorship and all published opinions had to be of approved orthodoxy.

The war and the British occupation at first wrought little change in the Bagdadi. He accepted it all with his traditional resignation to fate, indifferent as to who ruled so long as he himself was left alone to pursue his easy way of life. It was true that under the British there was greater security to life and property, that justice was more certain, that business showed distinct improvement, and that there was a possibility, if one desired it, of getting educa-



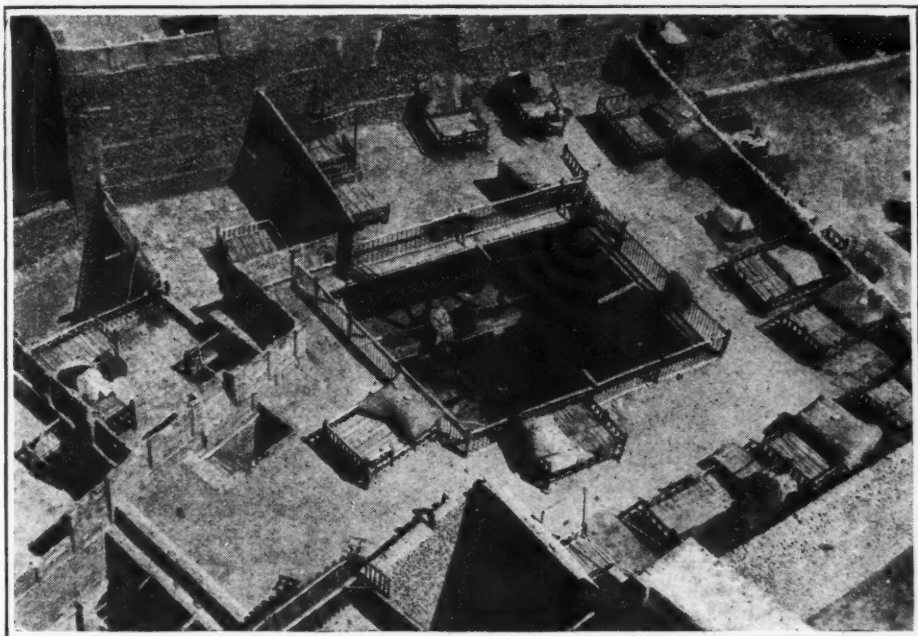
On the west bank of the Tigris at Bagdad



tion for one's children; but, on the other hand, there was the dead and relentless burden of rigid government and impartial taxation, a burden that could not be evaded or moved by bribery. Besides, there was always the very significant fact that the Turk was a Moslem, whereas the new ruler was an unbeliever and hence from the outset to be regarded with suspicion in everything he did. Until the war was definitely over there was also the possibility of the return of the Turks, making it advisable

Bagdad suddenly swarmed with young men of the mullah or student class, who were full of talk of violent nationalism and resentment at any foreign control. An attempt to translate theory into practice led to an outbreak in the streets of Bagdad in May, 1920, at the same time that a number of tribes up and down Mesopotamia indulged in an orgy of murder to prove their readiness for independence.

The outbreak did not retard as greatly as might have been expected the measures



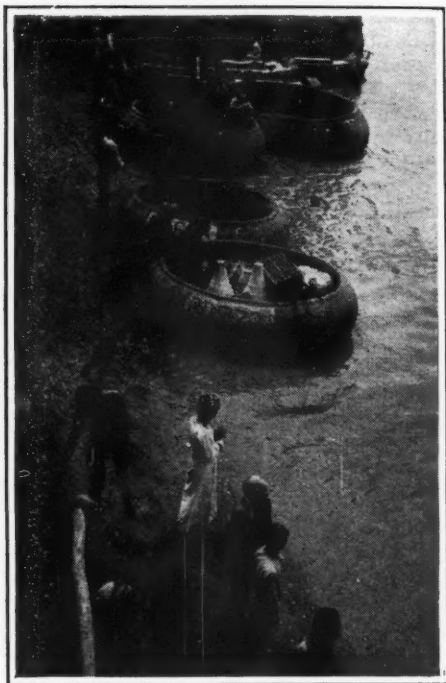
Sleeping quarters on the roof of a house, Bagdad

for the notables not to be too demonstrative in their loyalty to Great Britain. On the whole, it may be said that the large and important Jewish and Christian communities, in whose hands lay nearly all the city's commerce, were ready to throw in their lot with the occupying power, while the rest were for the most part indifferent or suspicious with regard to it.

With the end of the war the situation altered. New ideas of liberty and national independence were imported from the West by way of Syria, Egypt and Arabia, and the thought of a political revival began to take shape after long stagnation. Indifference to and suspicion of the invader crystallized into hostility, for the most part concealed, but sometimes definitely overt.

of controlled self-government laid down by the League of Nations mandate. In England, political pressure was being brought to bear on the home Government to cut down expenditure on Mesopotamia. With this end in view the number of British troops garrisoned at Bagdad and elsewhere in Iraq was reduced, while a native force of levies and police was raised to supplement the forces that were left. Fairly rapidly also the executive power of Government office was transferred from the British Political Officers to Arabs who began to take control though under British advisorship.

Meantime intrigue was on foot to settle the rulership of the country. The general feeling of the population outside Bagdad



On the waterfront near Bank Street, Bagdad. The round boat, typical of Bagdad, is known as the kuffa and is a coracle made of interwoven palm and other branches, covered with bitumen. These boats are mentioned by Herodotus

was in favor of the election, as titular or real head, of Sir Percy Cox, who had been Chief Political Officer and had gained the affection of the Arabs, first, by his accessibility to all, and secondly, by his real and sympathetic understanding of their needs and desires. The citizens of Bagdad however, had other ideas on the subject, and felt that some member of one of the notable families of the city had the first claim to consideration as ruler. In fact, the old Nakib, the hereditary guardian of the famous Sunni mosque and shrine of Abdul Kadir Gilani, and head of the oldest and most famous family in Bagdad, seems to have regarded himself as the inevitable occupant of the throne with Sir Percy Cox as High Commissioner. Another claimant was Saiyid Talib, a notable of Basra, who for a time was Minister of the Interior in the first provisional Arab Government that was set up. The British Government, however, had set its mind on appointing as ruler a member of the family of the Sherif of Mecca, who had served Great Britain during the war. They chose Faisal, the third son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz. He

had been leader of the Arab army that co-operated with General Allenby in the campaign against the Turks in Palestine. For a time he was head of the Government at Damascus, but after disagreements with the French he was compelled to leave Syria. For a few months he was in Palestine and then, after a visit to London, he was called to Iraq.

Faisal arrived at Bagdad in June, 1921, and owing to the efforts mainly of Jafar Pasha, who was Minister in charge of the native army, he received a gracious welcome, with triumphal arches in the streets and Sherifian flags flying. He was crowned King of Bagdad on Aug. 23, 1921. His home at first was put in the Serai, the old Turkish Government house, and remained there until about two years ago, when part of the building collapsed—a fact regarded as an omen by superstitious Bagdadis. The royal residence was then transferred to a house which had been the British Officers' hospital, on the Tigris bank and situated some little distance outside the north gate of the city. Here Faisal lived until April last, when floods demolished the house, while the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Dobbs, lives in what was another British Officers' hospital on the right bank of the river, about midway between the two pontoon bridges that connect the two parts of the city. The headquarters of the British army meantime continue at what was the British residency in pre-war days, then as now, the finest secular building in Bagdad.

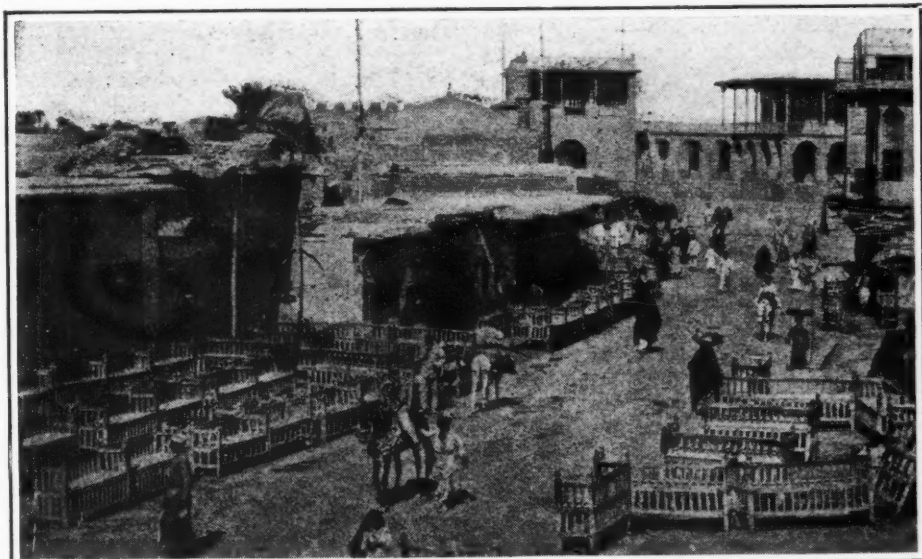
From the history of his accession it may be inferred that Faisal is not persona grata everywhere. He is, of course, in no danger of being dislodged from his throne so long as the British remain in Iraq, and, from the pronouncement of Mr. Amery, the British Colonial Secretary, before the League of Nations at Geneva in August, 1925, Britain is pledged to retain charge of Mesopotamia for twenty-five years more. But the task of government Faisal has undertaken is not an easy one, for he has to reckon with contending or obstructive forces from more than one direction, both religious and economic. By religion he is a Sunni, but by far the larger part of the Mohammedan population of Bagdad belongs to the Shia section of Islam, which is more fanatical and more dominated by its mullahs than the Sunni section. The great majority of Bagdad Shiites, who in this respect resemble most other Shiites—as witness the hopeless confusion of the administration of Persia—neither understand the forms of government nor care much about it. In their hearts

they owe allegiance to the spiritual overlordship of the holy mujtahids, who form the hierocracy at the sacred shrines of the saints at Nejef and Kerbela, rather than to the temporal power of Faisal, who, as a Sunni, is worse than a "unbeliever" in Shia eyes. Added to the obstructive influence of the mujtahids is that of the families, or individuals, who, as we have seen, consider that they have as good a claim as Faisal to the throne of Iraq—or an even better one. They are as good Sunnis as he, and have the advantage over him of belonging to clans well known and long established in the country.

The hostile economic force is more diffuse but no less real. The Moslem effendi, or middle-class townsman, sees in the Arabization of the Government services the possibility of advantage to himself. He does not belong to the taxpaying classes except indirectly. On the other hand, the tribesman and the cultivator bear the main burden of the revenue and see nothing immediate and tangible coming to them for their money. That they can carry on their daily life in peace does not concern them much; in the free and easy Turkish days they had managed to live, too, and only paid taxes when they could be compelled—which was not always. Also, they find that the price of commodities in the Bagdad bazaars is very high. No longer do the prices which are obtained for wheat, vegetables, hides or wool purchase the same num-

ber as formerly of clothes, copper vessels, trinkets or other desirable objects displayed in the Bagdad bazaars. The Bagdad Jewish and Christian merchants also, both foreign and native, find that the bickerings of Faisal's Government with Shia divines of Nejef and Kerbela have reacted on their trade with Persia, which is itself Shia and the birthplace of the chief holy men of Iraq.

The transit trade between northern Persia and the Persian Gulf, to which Bagdad has always owed a large part of its prosperity, is particularly affected, with consequent doubtings in the minds of those who might otherwise be loyally disposed to the existing state of affairs. Moreover, the railway between Basra and Bagdad has not been the success that was anticipated, for the speeding up of the time of transit of goods from India does not compensate for the much increased cost of transport. A serious rival to it, so far as passenger traffic from England and Egypt is concerned, is the Nairn Transport Company's service of motor cars, founded in 1921, between Haifa in Syria and Bagdad. The journey from Cairo to Bagdad by the desert route takes little over two days, whereas via Bombay and the Persian Gulf it may take anything up to three weeks. Owing to marauding tribes and recent disturbances in Syria the motor service has lately not been as safe as might be desired, but it is to be presumed that when the French have gained proper control in Syria this means of reaching the



An open air café, Bagdad



ancient city of the Caliphs will be as secure and popular as any railway service in Asia.

When, however, all is said about the new spirit and the new means of communication between Bagdad and the outside world, the changes wrought in the place are not very great. Bagdad remains essentially an Oriental city. The British educational service has done good work in providing some elementary education for the Arab population, alongside the work done by the French Dominican Fathers and Sisters of Mercy for the Christian communities and by the Alliance Israélite Universelle for the Jewish. A considerable number of Christians and Jews, with a few of the more traveled Arabs, are being induced to learn English and are getting to know Western methods of commerce. Also an Arab university, the "Baitu 'l Aal," is in process of being built up. But it does not go much further than that. Traditional forms of religion still hold fast except on a very few of those who have imbibed Occidental modes of thought. Politics to the majority is just a new excuse for carrying on the underground intrigue which is characteristic of the spirit of the place. In public the conversation is generally of money, as it has always been in the East, and one can rarely chance to be walking behind two Bagdadis without hearing the word "rupees." At home, manners and customs are patriarchal in all the three communities of Bagdad; ways of eating, dressing and marrying are still what they always were. The story goes that when Faisal's Queen was called upon by some Arab ladies last year, the visitors were scandalized to find the First Lady of Iraq garbed in European dress.

If in the privacy of the women's quarters there is no change at all, in the street there is very little—at least to the Occidental male eye. Every Moslem woman wears a long cloak stretching from head to foot. None goes unveiled, and even Christian and Jewish women generally wear some kind of veil, though the latter seem for the most part to have discarded the hideous

horsehair visor with which they concealed their faces in pre-war days. The characteristic street costume of the majority of Arab men in Bagdad is still the flowing aba, with the headdress of a kerchief and a camel-hair ring. The effendis wear European dress with a fez, but as likely as not will be found carrying a rosary, not for praying, but simply to occupy idle fingers.

New Street, which the Turks called Khalil Pasha Street, is the one fairly modern thoroughfare that Bagdad boasts. It runs roughly from north to south across the city, and is about three miles long. It is lit by electric light, and shops along it display European goods alongside native products. But along it also are much frequented mosques with their green and blue domes, while narrow, ill-lit, winding lanes run in among the houses to form Bagdad's side streets. American and British automobiles in considerable numbers move along the cumbered road, but they share it with camels, mules and donkeys, the latter of which still provide the city's chief means of transport. The dust of the motors does not prevent Bagdad's moneyed citizen of today from transacting most of his business at ease in the open air café. There he sits, perched upon a high, hard bench, with his feet tucked under him, talking sedition or discussing finance in a rigidly male conclave—for no Bagdad woman yet is sufficiently modern to frequent a public place of refreshment. The less prosperous artisan or tradesman still has to work as hard for a livelihood as he always did. The fisherman casts his round net into the muddy Tigris, the coppersmith plies his clangorous trade in the gloomy depths of the bazaar, and the thousand and one sellers of shoes, carpets, hides, cloth and what not still carry on the traditional methods of fierce haggling and keen bargaining without which no transaction is complete. But all work is done under protest. The modern spirit has not decreased the Oriental distaste for exertion. And in any case, why worry? What Allah wills shall be.





# Who Were the War Criminals of 1914?

By ARTHUR VON GWINNER

Leading German Financial Authority and Formerly President of the Deutsche Bank

*Great is the power of steady misrepresentation; but the history of science shows that fortunately this power does not long endure.—CHARLES DARWIN.*

**M**R. JAMES W. GERARD, American Ambassador to Germany in 1914, in an article entitled "A Former American Ambassador Defends the French," which was published in the March, 1926, issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, made the following statement:

"Von Gwinner, head of the great Deutsche Bank, told me shortly after the outbreak of war that the officers of the Great General Staff appeared before the Emperor and said that they would break their swords over their knees if he did not sign [i. e., the declaration of war]."

There is evidently a gross misunderstanding in Mr. Gerard's recollection of my remarks. I had seen war coming many years before, and had worked strenuously for peace; speeches of mine in the Prussian House of Lords and articles I wrote in the newspapers are there to prove it. I was, with Ballin and Rathenau, a notorious pacifist. When, to my horror, war actually did break out, I remember having had a conversation with Mr. Gerard, whom at that time I saw frequently at the American Embassy. He was deeply moved at the calamities impending, and his mind sought for means to avoid them. One of his ideas was embodied in the question as to whether war could yet be stopped by mediation during the fatal fortnight of preparation. I saw no hope. Germany's only chance was her quicker mobilization. Once the Russians and the French were ready, we were outnumbered two to one, with our eastern frontier open and our western frontier undefended as far as the Rhine. War having broken out by Russia's general mobilization, Germany could not possibly lose her only chance. We found the confirmation of this viewpoint later at Kovno in the Czar's secret ukase of 1912 to the Governor of that frontier fortress: "*General mobilization means war on Germany.*" Indeed, if the Kaiser had then consented to lose time, the

leaders of the German General Staff would have had cause to break their swords over their knees, in a figurative sense, of course. Words to that effect I may have used. I would say the same today, but I never possibly could have uttered such an absurdity as that which Mr. Gerard attributes to me. The matter might rest there, unless Mr. Gerard, from my remarks as he quotes them, should draw an argument to sustain his personal opinion that the German General Staff was the determining cause of the war. On this point, however, I emphatically differ.

All the officers of the several European armies, with few possible exceptions, willed war, if for no higher motive, then as a means to advancement and glory. But he knows little of European pre-war politics and post-war publications who would doubt that certain statesmen and generals of Russia, France and England were guilty of having prepared and worked for the war against Germany long before it came.

By abundant and conclusive evidence we can show that M. Izvolski, Russia's Ambassador in Paris, and M. Raymond Poincaré for several years before 1914 had worked for the war and rejoiced at its outbreak. "*C'est ma guerre*" ("It is my war"), M. Izvolski used to say. What "Poincaré-la-Guerre" ("War-Poincaré"—such was his nickname in France years before the war—) willed and translated into action those who care may read in the memoirs of the late French Ambassador to Russia, Georges Louis [*Les Carnets de Georges Louis*, Paris, 1926]. For having pursued a policy of peace he was removed from his post by M. Poincaré. Georges Louis died brokenhearted, but his "*carnets*," or diaries, are there to show convincingly that Messrs. Poincaré, Delcassé, Paléologue and, last but not least, Izvolski, willed the war and worked for war. When Louis' book—dreadful to the culprits—came out two of the many witnesses were made to publish disclaimers; but the entire book is too consistent, too convincing, to admit any doubt of its truth. Besides, the culprits have be-

trayed themselves. "*Ca y est*; we will join hands this time in Berlin," said M. Paléologue (France's new Ambassador) to the Montenegrin Grand Duchess. And she replied: "Be careful; the Czar is watching us." This happened at the Czar's own table in the first week of July, after the Sarajevo murder, nearly a month before the war. M. Paléologue's Oriental vaingloriousness made him publish that scene heedlessly and betray himself.

So General Sukhomlinov, head of the Russian staff, betrayed himself. In his trial before a Bolshevik tribunal he boasted of having, against the Czar's word and will, ordered Russia's general mobilization, which he well knew meant war. In his memoirs he says: "I am firmly convinced that the choice between war and peace was then decided (in July, 1914), when Poincaré was in St. Petersburg, and that the Grand Duke Nicholas, Sazonov (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Poincaré promised one another to wreck *en tout cas* a pacific solution."

Americans may be weary of so many and to them tedious discussions about the war's origin and the culprits. But the American Nation is high-minded and will excuse our insisting on a discussion that means *life or moral death to a nation of 60,000,000 souls*, one of the foremost in human civilization.

M. Poincaré himself solemnly said: "*If the Germans could prove that they were not alone guilty of the war, all hopes would be allowed them.*" To this we reply that we are able to prove that our statesmen and generals are no more guilty, in fact are less guilty, of the war than Messrs. Izvolski, Poincaré & Co., our principal fault indeed having been our clumsiness. German statesmen and generals "staggered or stumbled into the war," as Mr. Lloyd George said of all the European statesmen. Viscount Grey at last has come to admit the same conclusion, the most favorable for himself.

Bernard Shaw wrote as early as November, 1914, in the London *New Statesman*, under the heading of "The Last Spring of the Old Lion":

"France well knows that if he (the British Lion) came to the aid of France and Russia the odds will be too terrible even for the victors of Sedan. France sounds the lion. \* \* \* The lion, grim and cautious, does not object to his naval and military commanders talking to the commanders of France. \* \* \* France suddenly bullies Germany. Germany looks at the lion. \* \* \* With mortification tearing her heart Germany clears out (1911). The lion is balked. "The lion broods \* \* \* and is crouched.

Almost before he is ready the devil's own luck struck down the Archduke by hand of an assassin, and Austria saw Serbia in her grasp at last. She flew at Serbia; Russia flew at Austria; Germany flew at France, and the lion, with a mighty roar, sprang at last and in a flash had his teeth and claws in the rival. \* \* \* That, Gentlemen of England, is the epic of the Yellow Book."

Then Bernard Shaw, in his inimitable style, winds up by reminding his countrymen "of their piteous stories, like the old stories of 'Boney' (Napoleon Bonaparte) eating babies" and he foresees "*their frantic lies and shameful abuse of the enemy.*"

In a New York after-dinner speech, General Charteris, head of the News Service of the British Army, boasted of his having "*dodged the truth*" (Shakespeare calls it "the lie direct") in putting into circulation the "corpse story" [the charge that the Germans transported dead bodies from the front to Germany to be used for fertilization purposes], which the world was made to believe, in order to increase its hatred for the Germans. Charteris hinted that his falsification led China to seize the German ships in Chinese ports.

What a Frenchman, M. Georges Demartial, the well-known writer on war guilt and a contributor to *CURRENT HISTORY*, wrote (in *Evolution*, Paris, June, 1926) about the manuscript "*Les Responsables*" by the former French Premier and Finance Minister, Joseph Caillaux, should be carefully studied. The Poincaré Government wanted to kill Caillaux because he knew the truth and meant to tell it if France was beaten. They accused him of high treason and broke into a safe containing that manuscript. But Caillaux was absolved and his book has now been published (*Les Documents*, Paris, June, 1926). The reading of this document will clearly show that M. Poincaré willed this most criminal of all wars.

Anastasia, the Montenegrin wife of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, commander of Czarist Russia's armies, spoke to M. Paléologue as follows: "War is coming; we will meet in Berlin; no trace shall remain of Austria." This was on July 22, 1914 (a day before Austria presented her so-called "ultimatum" to Serbia), and has been told by M. Paléologue himself. Is it believable that the French Ambassador kept such momentous words to himself when the head of the French State, M. Poincaré, was present in the same room? No, Sukhomlinov was undoubtedly correct: they knew their game and their goal, and

then and there in Petersburg they agreed on the war "*en tout cas*."

And Germany? Germany was prosperous; she needed neither land nor money, and desired only peace. She had nothing to gain and everything to lose by war.

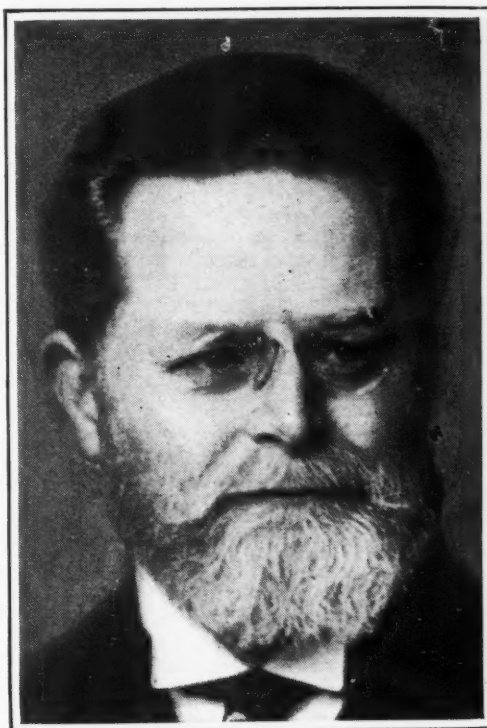
#### ALLIED MOTIVES FOR WAR

But the Allies? France wanted her "*Revanche*" and wanted to get back Alsace—Alsace, where she is now forced to print her newspapers in the German language, as only one-eighth of the Alsatian people know French! Russia wanted Constantinople, and also aimed to quench an impending revolution at home. England wanted to destroy German commerce and to win "*Mandates*" in Mesopotamia and Africa. Italy, as usual, wanted plunder without risk, which, as usual also, but at great risk this time, she obtained.

In March, 1921, the London *Foreign Affairs* published a letter by Professor Conybeare containing the following two statements: (1) In March, 1914, British officers measured the landing facilities at Le Havre and other ports with a view of landing troops in France; (2) Mr. MacLalland, then Lloyd's Agent in St. Petersburg, told Professor Conybeare of receiving a cable from London, *previous to the Sarajevo murder*, ordering him to expect and arrange to receive a fleet of English commercial transport ships empty. Mr. MacLalland was given to understand that such fleet was to land Russian troops in Germany in an impending war.

I will add a few facts that tell their own story.

1. War broke out in the beginning of August. The first two weeks passed in mobilizing the several armies. In the third week the Russians invaded Eastern Prussia, destroying towns and villages, carrying off all moveables, even the furniture of the poor. (In May, 1915, I myself saw rails that had been laid into Russia for that purpose.) Then Hindenburg was called to the rescue. Ere the fourth week of August ended, in the famous battle of Tannenberg he destroyed the Russian army, taking some 80,000 prisoners. Among these were found to be the Second and Third Russian "*Siberian*" Army Corps, whose permanent quarters lay on the shores of the Pacific. Three months were required for their transportation on the single-track Siberian Railway to the German frontier, where they were taken. Dr. A. Berliner, head manager of the great Siemens Electrical Company, re-



ARTHUR VON GWINNER,  
Former President of the Deutsche Bank, Berlin

turning from Japan by way of Siberia, saw this troop transportation in progress, reported it and was disbelieved. Ever since April, 1914, Russia had been mobilizing, concentrating her armies on the Austrian and German frontiers. An American citizen and his wife—I am authorized to give their names if required—saw the mobilization in Transcaucasia. They wanted to take snapshots, but were forbidden.

2. During the last week of July, 1914, shortly before the outbreak of war, the Russian Imperial Bank withdrew from Berlin many millions it had at the Deutsche Bank and elsewhere. In the hope of aiding peace, we paid those sums, although they were deposited for later dates and not due. Owing to such forced withdrawals of huge sums the exchange for checks on London and Paris rose to 3 per cent. above gold point. The Deutsche Bank sent gold to Paris and to London. The remittance to France was seized and confiscated. The shipment to London (it had gone to Hamburg by the steamer *Swan*) we were able to reach by wireless at the very mouth of

the Thames after war had come. The ship escaped and that gold of ours, at least, was saved.

3. My own daughter was yachting during the last days of July, 1914, with English friends in Scotland. She barely escaped home by the last ship.

4. Anti-German propaganda spread a false statement charging that the several German bank branches in London had withdrawn their cash and securities in preparation for the war, whereof they had had timely warning "of course." But Mr. Harmsworth's own *Times* had to report shortly after: "The status of the German banks has turned out a surprise." That is, we had withdrawn neither treasure nor securities and were creditors of the London market. The Deutsche Bank alone was robbed of \$8,000,000 cash and \$50,000,000 worth of bonds and shares of its clients, all private property.

5. At the beginning of the war, Germany had no stocks of liquid fuel, no saltpetre, no stocks of anything above the usual requirements. If Germany had planned a war, would she not have provided such stocks? Had we not succeeded in drawing nitrogen from the air, we would have succumbed within a few months for want of ammunition.

#### SELF ACCUSATION

On every page of Izvolski's diplomatic correspondence made public by the Bolsheviks will be found that terrible self-accusation of his having worked to bring about the European conflict out of hatred for Austria and resentment against her protector. There will be found, for instance, a statement that as early as 1913 France and Russia came to an agreement regarding

the division of the spoils in an expected war on Germany.

Last, not least, there is Victor Margueritte's powerful book of 352 pages: *The Criminals*. [*Les Criminels*, E. Flammarion, Paris, 1925]. He spares none; not the Kaiser, nor Lord Grey, nor the Austrians, nor the Russians, but convincingly and in detail shows how France left the ways of peace and took to the warpath as soon as M. Poincaré came into power, and how war was decided upon early in July, 1914, while Poincaré was at St. Petersburg. Senator Trystram, on Poincaré's return on July 29, asked him at Dunkerque: "Do you think, Mr. President, that war can be avoided?" "That would be a pity," replied Poincaré, raising his arms; "never would we find better conditions. \* \* \*

He found his "conditions" and pretext. He rushed Europe into that terrible catastrophe. He put his own country in that slough of despond wherein France is even now wading. Let him and Izvolski be known forever as the chief criminals.

I will quote, in conclusion, the following lines from Margueritte's book:

"You see, the crime was committed by all. \* \* \* Then why this Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty, forcing Germany to subscribe to this statement: '*Je dois payer, parce que je suis seul coupable.*' [I must pay, because I am alone responsible.] This Article 231 is not only an assault on Truth, but an outrage on Justice."

And I will add: The whole document drafted and signed at Versailles is a crime, greater than the war itself. We yielded to President Wilson's famous fourteen points; and what advantage did they take of it! Americans indeed have cause to hear us generously and to do Germany justice.





# The Negro's Contribution to American Music

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN\*

NEGRO music is more and more taking its place with the music of the world. It is now being acclaimed both at home and abroad as having its own distinctive message and philosophy and as representing the only folk music of America.

Negro music was born under conditions expressive of the folk life of a race that is without parallel, and its story is one full of challenge, built around adventure, daring, courage, faith, patience, hope, sorrow and optimism. It portrays the hopes of a people who faced desperate odds, who faced the hardships of slavery, and who at a period of their own life, when all was dark and dreary, looked to their songs to work out their destiny and carve their way to the promised land.

The negro first came to this country on a little Dutch vessel in 1619 and landed at Jamestown, Va., in a strange country. The only asset that he brought with him was his songs, and with them he faced the long stretch of slavery, covering a period of 250 years with a courage unequalled in the story of races. Singing his songs he made known his sorrows, his hopes, his aspirations, his patience and his vision of the freedom to come. He was among strange peoples, with strange customs, but he knew by his songs that he could express his character and soul, and that it would not be long before the world would see this soul and accord him a place among the races of men.

The late Professor John Wesley Work, a negro educator and musician, who for many years was a member of the Faculty of Fisk University, in his book on the *Folk Songs of the Afro-American*, or the American negro, tells of his years of research

throughout the South, studying the songs of the negro. He tells how they are collected, how in the camp meetings they express religious fervor, and also how the attitude toward this music has changed within the last two decades. In a recent book by Dr. Nathaniel Dett, head of the music department of Hampton Institute, entitled *Religious Folk Songs of the Negro as Sung at Hampton*, the writer calls attention to the influence these songs have upon the religious life of the negro and the influence they will also have on the music of the future.

Noted negro musicians like Harry T. Burleigh, who for many years has been soloist at St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church; Nathaniel Dett, Carl Diton, Clarence Cameron White, J. Rosamond Johnson and the late Coleridge Taylor and Roland Hayes, have all made valuable contributions to the preservation of negro folk music. Another helpful thing that has done much to save negro music has been the attitude of the negro leaders. They have been quick to recognize the value of these songs and have kept constantly before the younger generation of negroes their sacred duty in helping to save them. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, one of the foremost negro thinkers, in his book on *The Souls of Black Folks*, devotes a chapter to the "Songs of Our Fathers," in which he speaks of the social value of this music. Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, while he was commandant at Hampton Institute urged the importance of a knowledge of these plantation songs as a necessary part of the education of the students. Dr. Moton, in an article contributed at one time to the *Southern Workman*, tells of the impression that was made upon him when he first heard these songs and how it was at Hampton that he grew to admire their strength and beauty.

Dr. H. H. Proctor, a distinguished negro churchman, in his book *Between Black and White* devotes two chapters to negro music and the philosophy of the songs. He says: "Every race, we are told, has passed through slavery; but for the negro people was reserved the unique distinction of giv-

\*Mr. Allen was born in Greenville, S. C., and graduated from the Union High School of that city, studying later at New York University. He has had much experience as a lecturer and newspaper man and has distinguished himself as a Red Cross worker. For two years he was lecturer on negro music for the New York Board of Education and is now on the staff of *Musical America* and contributor to leading American publications on negro questions.

ing the world a body of song during the days of its bitter oppression." Will Marion Cooke, another negro musician, refers to Hampton as a good centre for the development of this music. The late Booker T. Washington, while at Tuskegee, drilled into the students the respect they should have for their music.

#### FOSTER'S SONGS

Negro music expresses itself in negro folk songs, which are so called because they are peculiar to the negro folk. If the many songs that were sung by the negro during slavery had been built upon songs from other races, they would not have been negro folk songs. For instance, *Old Black Joe*, *My Kentucky Home* and *Suwanee River* are not negro folk songs, because they were written by Stephen Foster, a white man, and not created by the negro. These songs were merely built around a negro theme. This point is one that should be borne in mind, because it is the common impression that the songs of Foster are negro music. There are many things that ought to be remembered about these songs, among which are their direct reference to the Scripture and their wonderful strength of reserve and resignation.

With respect to the Scriptural references, it might be asked why it is that a people enduring slavery, who could not read for the most part, had such a remarkable and accurate knowledge of the Bible. The reason was that the Bible was the only book that was read to the slave, and while this was being done, remarkable knowledge of the book was acquired upon which was based most of the melodies of the negro. This fact is strongly recognized in such songs as *I Want to be Ready*, *Go Down Moses*, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* and *My Lord Delivered Daniel*. Another interesting and striking fact about these songs is that out of 500 or more of them that have been collected not one of them shows resentment, hate, or breathes revenge. This is particularly characteristic of the negro race. Speaking of this trait of negro music, the late Professor Work says in his book: "Another characteristic of the negro song is, as has been stated before, that it has no expression of hatred or revenge. If these songs taught no other truth save that, they would be invaluable. That a race which had suffered and toiled as the negro had could find no expression for bitterness and hatred, yes, could positively love, is strong evidence that it possesses a clear comprehension of the great force of life, and that

it must have had experience in the fundamentals of Christianity. One shriek of hate would jar all the hymns of Heaven."

It is in the music as expressed in the negro folk songs that this character is best shown. Although these songs were sung for many generations on the plantations throughout the South, their charm, beauty and strength of character was not recognized until 1871 when Fisk University, at Nashville, Tenn., one of the first institutions for the higher education of the negro, sent out a consecrated group of young colored men and women to introduce properly these songs, and leave it to the world to place its proper value upon them. It was an epoch-making tour for these Fisk singers, because they were going on a venture the outcome of which they knew not. It was the first time that trained singers went forth to introduce to the public the music of their race, and they were willing to let the American public be the judge. On Oct. 6, 1871, under the direction of Professor George White, a Northern white man and a member of the Faculty, the Fisk singers began their tour.

Their first stop was at Oberlin, Ohio, where the Councils of Congregational Churches were in session. The leaders of the Church were there from every section of the country, and if the singers could get an opportunity, their fame would be carried over the country. On the day that the singers arrived the late Professor Work says everything had gone wrong at the convention. Permission was asked for the singers to sing, but the request was waved aside. However, while the convention was debating the question whether or not they should be heard, they had stolen around to the gallery without any one seeing them. Suddenly there floated over that large convention hall the soft strains of *Steal Away to Jesus*. There was a commotion, as eyes turned toward the direction of the singers. A hush fell over the audience as on and on the strains of the song floated over the hall. There was pathos, harmony and sympathy in the song, for here were trained singers and they made that vast audience, some of which represented New England culture, actually see the slaves stealing away to Jesus. The singers stopped but the convention cried for more, and then came more of the folk songs of the American negro as only Fisk can sing them. From that moment to the present time no one doubted the place these songs had in the hearts of the American people. Professor White had faith in the music of the

The first lines of *Steal Away*

negro, and when he saw this music getting such a reception at its initial bow his faith redoubled. A dramatic incident took place when Henry Ward Beecher, who was then pastor of a church in Brooklyn and was visiting the convention, after hearing the Fisk singers, rose and invited them to come to his church in Brooklyn. The singers started for the North with fear and trembling, because on whatever the New York critics said would depend the future of the songs. But the singers came, and came with faith in their music. Their arrival was widely heralded, and a capacity audience greeted them on their first appearance in this part of the country. Professor White wanted to know what the New York newspapers had to say about the singers the next day, and when he looked for the comment, instead of ridicule, there was praise heralding the singers as a splendidly trained group who were bringing to America its own original music.

#### FISK SINGERS' TRIUMPH

After touring throughout America, the Fisk singers visited England and the Continent, touching the hearts of peasant and noble alike with these American melodies. They sang before the King and Queen, and brought to them in this music the story of the struggles of the American negro. While the singers were in England, Dwight Moody was holding religious services in London, and he frequently used them whenever he could to aid him in his services. Professor Work vividly describes the tour of the singers in these words: "From 1871 to 1876 that company enjoyed one continuous ovation. New England crowded her largest buildings and paid liberally to hear them sing. Mr. White began to send back

to Professor Spence hundreds of dollars to add to that one lonely dollar to keep from having an empty treasury." Professor Work tells also how Queen Victoria wept at the songs of this band of singers from the South, and of the reception they had from Lord Shaftesbury and other eminent men and women of England. For eight years these singers toured the world, touching the hearts and consciences of people as they never were touched before. When they returned to Fisk University they laid at the doors of their Alma Mater \$150,000 which went toward the erection of Jubilee Hall, a building that stands on the campus of that university dedicated to negro music, on the spot where once stood a slave pen, inspiring generations of students who have since passed through that institution. That a company of singers could raise such an amount of money argues for the beauty and charm as well as the value of negro music. The tour of the original Fisk singers was followed by other groups of young men and women. Fisk University maintains this tradition to the present day.

Though Fisk University stands as the foremost exponent of this music and was the first to introduce it to America, other institutions, such as Hampton, Tuskegee Institute, Atlanta University, the Penn School in South Carolina and the Calhoun Institute, throughout the South are teaching the students the value of negro music. Hampton Institute stands next to Fisk University in the preservation of this music. Professor Work gives as the reason for this that the State of Virginia is rich in folk lore appreciation, and that the colored people of that State take particular pride in saving their music. Even in the public



schools of the South the pupils are taught to love these songs and to know their history. The whole attitude, therefore, toward negro music has changed, and a new appreciation has come about.

Prominent white musicians have joined in paying tribute to the negro songs, and some idea of how they are regarded in America may be seen in the reception they get from an American audience when they are offered by white musicians. Mme. Schumann-Heink always includes in her repertoire several of the negro folk songs, which receive the same applause as other numbers on the program. Miss Kitty Cheatham gives an annual program which is made up entirely of negro music. Walter Damrosch, one of the foremost authorities on music in America, in an article contributed to the *Southern Workman* some time ago, says: "If proof positive of a soul in the negro people should be demanded, it can be given, for they have brought over from Africa and developed in this country, even under all the unfavorable conditions of slavery, a music so wonderful, so beautiful, and yet so strange, that, like the gypsy music of Hungary, it is at once the admiration and despair of educated musicians of our race."

The late Henry Krehbiel, a prominent musical authority, has given the results of his study of this subject in a remarkable book, *The Folk Songs of the American Negro*. It is a fair and impartial tribute to the music of the negro, and shows the fairness of the American people in giving the negro credit for his contribution to American art.

#### THE SPIRITUALS

Negro folk songs are classified under four heads, namely, spirituals, labor songs, cradle songs or lullabies, and the songs of freedom or war songs. There are subdivisions such as songs of sorrow, songs of hope, faith, courage, adoration and joy. Most of them, especially the spirituals, originated in the peculiar circumstances incident to the life of the slaves. All of them were created as the direct result of some experience through which the negro was passing in his early struggles in America.

Among the spirituals may be mentioned:

*Steal Away to Jesus.*  
*Swing Low, Sweet Chariot.*  
*Go Down, Moses.*  
*Nobody Knows the Trouble I See.*  
*I Want to Be Ready.*  
*Ain't That Good News.*

*What Kind of Shoes Are You Going to Wear?*

*I Know the Lord's Laid His Hand On Me.*  
*Going to Shout All Over God's Heaven.*  
*I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray.*  
*Let Us Cheer the Weary Traveler.*  
*Oh, Then My Little Soul.*  
*Free At Last.*

The spirituals are the most numerous, for they were used the most, being the only songs at religious services and camp meetings. Speaking of the spirituals Mrs. Edith Armstrong Talbot, daughter of the late General Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, said in an article in the *Southern Workman* some time ago: "To appreciate sympathetically negro spirituals one must use imagination. One must forget the present and look with the mind's eye into the past, upon a gathering of black folk in some simple cabin home, or under the trees in a grove lit by moon or by pine torches. Perhaps the meeting is secret, perhaps proscribed, which adds a spice of danger to the religious enthusiasm of those present. \* \* \* Hymns more genuine than these have never been sung since the psalmists of Israel relieved their burdened hearts and expressed their exaltation."

Harris Barrett, a graduate of Hampton, and also a student of negro folk music, writing in the *Southern Workman* says of negro labor songs: "Another class of songs sung by my people, which is of peculiar interest to the capitalist as well as to the sociologist and ethnologist, includes what are called labor songs. It was noticed by slave owners and overseers long before freedom, and has been noticed by employers of negro labor since, that more work, by perhaps one-fifth or one-sixth, can be gotten out of a given gang of men if they sing at their work than if they do not. \* \* \* Negro labor songs are of two kinds. First, there are those in which the singers keep time with their work, the time of the music regulating the rapidity of the work. These can be heard even today throughout the South on river steamers and wharves and other public works. It is exceedingly interesting to watch and to study a gang of men employed in digging a roadbed. At a distance it is noticeable that the rise and fall of their picks is as regular and exact as the movement of a company of well-drilled soldiers."

The cradle songs, or lullabies, are the fewest in the folk-song collection. There were very few of these songs during slavery. The reason was that during the existence of slavery the negro mothers had little or no time to devote to their children, and thus the maternal instinct seldom had an



opportunity to express itself in the creation of lullabies. The fact that there are few of these cradle songs, does not argue less of the love of the negro mother for her children during slavery, for any number of cases could be cited where mothers have died defending their children from being sold into a life of degradation.

### SONGS OF FREEDOM

The songs of freedom and war songs were sung at the close of slavery and during the period when the negro regiments were fighting in the Civil War for freedom. These songs reached the climax of the negro's hope, for he sang of his freedom to come. They expressed his joy at the passing of the auction block, the hardships of the taskmaster and other hard trials he experienced during the long and trying days of slavery. The songs of this period, although in a minor key, were occasions for great rejoicing on the part of the negro. Two songs to illustrate this period are as follows:

An' go home to my Lord an' be free.  
Oh freedom, Oh freedom,  
Oh freedom over me,  
An' befo' I'd be a slave  
I'll be buried in my grave.

No mo' weepin' over me,  
An' befo' I'd be a slave  
I'll be buried in my grave  
An' go home to my Lord an' be free.

No more auction block for me;  
No more peck of corn for me;  
No more driver's lash for me;  
No more pint of salt for me;  
No more hundred lash for me;  
No more mistress call for me;  
Many thousand gone.

General Armstrong, who commanded negro troops in the Civil War, tells of the origin of the Negro Battle Hymn, *They Look Like Men of War*. He says: "While recruiting and drilling the Ninth Regiment of United States Colored Troops at Benedict, Md., in the Winter of 1863-4, the men gathered around the campfire would sing by the hour the melodies of the plantation

life they had just left. They were not always very melodious, but late one evening I was startled by a magnificent chorus from nearly a thousand black soldiers which called me from my tent to listen to its most inspiring strains, and I caught the words of what I called the Negro Battle Hymn." The following are its words:

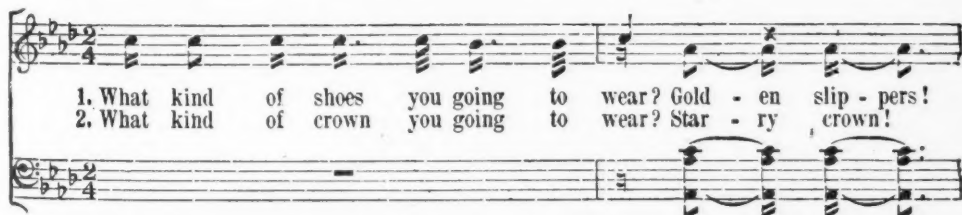
It sets my heart quite in a flame,  
A soldier thus to be;  
I will enlist, gird on my arms,  
And fight for liberty.

We want no cowards in our band  
That will their colors fly;  
We call for valiant hearted men  
Who are not afraid to die.

### Refrain.

They look like men, they look like men,  
They look like men of war;  
All armed and dressed in uniform,  
They look like men of war.

With reference to jazz music. I do not feel that it deserves to have attached to it the same importance as the music already mentioned. It has not had the influence or the bearing on the negro's life that the other forms of negro folk music have had. The nearest approach to what is commonly called jazz music may be seen in the dance and game songs which were used during slavery as a more or less recreational outlet after the day's work. They were never participated in by church members or those who "professed" religion. The jazz type of music, although of negro origin, is purely worldly in its intent. The point I wish to make and emphasize is that jazz music must not be confused with the negro spirituals or in any way be associated with them. Jazz music is more or less incidental, and is not an index to the negro's soul, as are the spirituals. The spirituals, the largest creation of the folk music of the negro, must ever be regarded and held as sacred. There has been a tendency to cheapen and commercialize them by introducing the jazz element, but the real contribution of the negro to the folk music of America lies in the songs that grew out of his sufferings in the days of slavery and oppression.



Opening bars of *What Kind of Shoes Are You Going to Wear?*

# France's Colonial Success in Morocco

By DOROTHY J. COLBURN

Special Writer on European Political Questions

THE enormous success of France in governing its huge colonial empire is a demonstration of skill which has generally escaped notice. A French army of 100,000 held at bay for a year by 10,000 or 15,000 semi-barbarous tribesmen in the Riff—this is probably the first distorted picture that flashes before the eyes of the newspaper reader when asked about the success of French colonial ventures. Yet France, with an area three-fourths as large as that of Texas, governs most efficiently a colonial empire of 4,000,000 square miles.

Morocco, which is a little larger than France itself, offers an excellent example of how a subject nationality can be treated, for, since the French protectorate was established in 1912, remarkable changes have been brought about. With unrest so great that the country had overthrown two Sultans in less than five years, with a central Government so weak that it had given up the attempt to collect taxes and obtained its revenue largely by mortgaging the customs, with many outlying nomadic tribes that defied the Sultan and lived by and for raiding, France had also to face the danger that the effort to restore order might stir up a holy war. At the same time German intrigue to incite revolt checkmated French efforts at pacification and discredited the French administration.

Commerce and industry in the modern sense did not exist in Morocco. Transportation was so bad that in the harbors goods had to be unloaded from steamers to barges, a hazard so great in Winter as to close the ports for two months for all practical purposes, while on land there were only the poor roads along which merchandise was carried by horses, mules or camels. Motor transportation and commercial exploitation of railroads were unknown in the Moorish Empire. Inland water transportation was, and still is, impractical because cataracts and rapids, alternate floods and droughts, render the waterways undependable. Communication was equally backward. Twelve years ago telephones were unknown, and

though Europe and a few Moroccan ports were connected by cable or radio, the only means of interurban communication was by courier. There was not even a postal service, the British, French, Spanish and German Governments each maintaining its own service in Morocco.

Beginning the monumental task of bringing Morocco out of the fifteenth century into the twentieth, France had first to stamp out anarchy. Marshal Lyautey, a Frenchman who added to his military training a knowledge of the arts of peace, was entrusted with this task. He straightway adopted a policy which he called "pacific penetration," the essence of which was respect for the religion and the institutions of the Moors. To avoid hostility, he changed existing institutions as little as possible, respecting native customs and governing through the Sultan and other established authorities. Having gained the support of a few influential chieftains, he let the neighboring hostile tribes observe the benefits which submission to the French brought. Gradually distrust gave way before the discovery that Moorish customs were being preserved, and hostile tribes came one by one to place themselves under French protection and enjoy the added safety and prosperity. Though military force was always at hand to protect the pacified regions from attack and to check threatening movements, the chief weapon of France was not fear, but the powerful persuasion of practical advantage.

One of the prime tenets of the French policy is religious tolerance. In a country where the religion is inextricably woven into political life and legal procedure, so that the Koran is the cornerstone not only of the temple but of the court and the City Hall, recognition of the Mohammedan religion is imperative. The reorganization of the courts, therefore, was a complex and delicate task because of the relation of the Koran to the legal procedure of the natives, rights of foreigners, and the difference between the native and the European conception of justice. Separate judicial systems

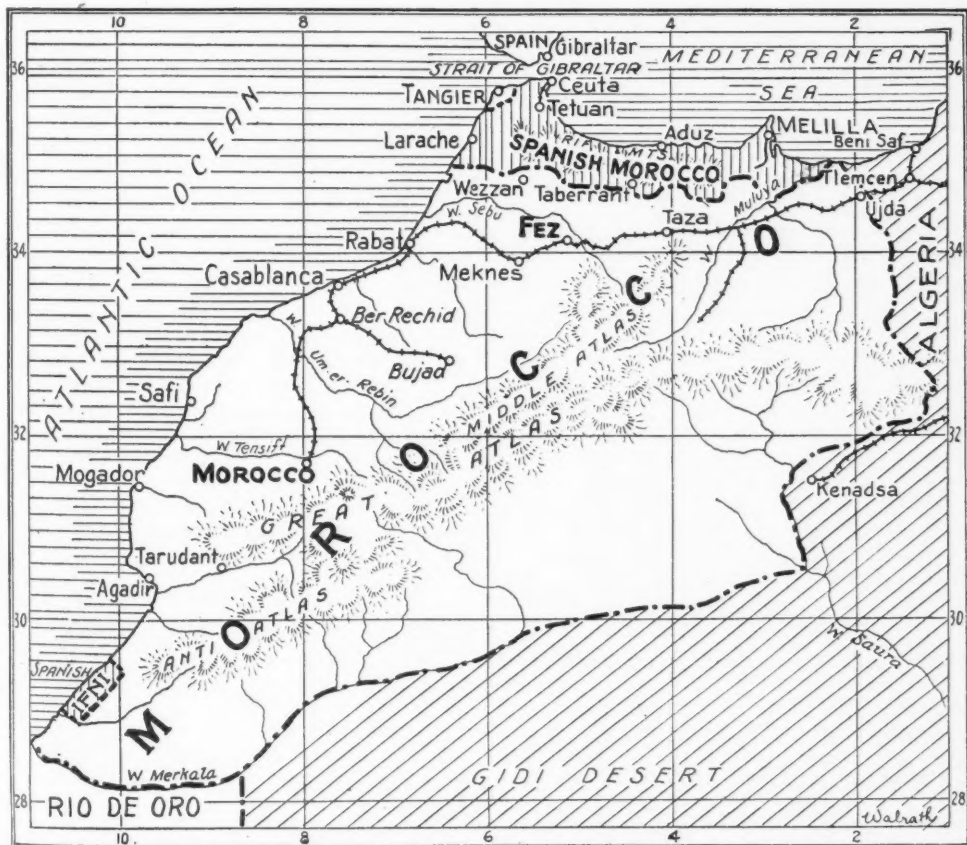
had to be established, one for Europeans, another where the caids and pashas administer justice according to Moroccan custom, another for the Jews, and yet another for the Berber tribes.

The outward form of the central Government remained the same, the Sultan and his Cabinet still being the centre of authority, though the Sultan must follow the advice of the French Resident General. Two positions in the Ministry must be held by Frenchmen—the Minister of War must be the officer commanding the French troops in Morocco and the Minister of Foreign Affairs must be the French Resident General.

Scarcely two years were allowed to France for the work of pacification before the World War. In this time French rule had progressed steadily and with comparatively little bloodshed, but how solid the work had been was not yet realized by the French themselves: "The fate of Morocco

will be settled in Lorraine. Reduce the occupation to the principal seaports and, if possible, the Kénitra-Meknès-Fez-Oudjda line of communication." To hold the coast towns and, if possible, the line of the projected military railroad which was to bind Morocco and Algeria, Marshal Lyautey was permitted to keep twenty-eight battalions and the rest, more than half of his troops, he had to send to France.

How Marshal Lyautey saved Morocco for France after having received orders to abandon it is one of the most interesting chapters of war history. With the support of his officers he drew up a plan to send the required number of troops without yielding a foot of territory. All the officers agreed that only by holding the advanced lines could they hope to prevent a general uprising. Such a movement was to be dreaded not only on account of the threatened loss of Morocco but because Mussulman fanaticism and solidarity might carry the uprising through all



Map of Morocco

Northern Africa. Lyautey asked only a slight reinforcement of Senegalese troops and permission to send all native Moroccan troops to the French front and to retain Algerians for service in Morocco. The French Ministry of War at length gave its approval to the plan, and within a month—that is, a week before Lyautey's orders required it—he succeeded in embarking four brigades of troops to France at the same time that he put down violent outbreaks. Authorized to keep eight mounted batteries, he kept only five, though these were most useful against the tribes. All his Generals, except the least experienced one, were also withdrawn from Morocco.

The military arrangements for holding Morocco with this vastly reduced force consisted in stationing in pacified regions reservists and territorials, and in the organization of a volunteer corps of the French population over 45 years of age. The psychological defense consisted in arranging for the calm continuation of normal life and in maintaining the civil, municipal and financial administrations in their regular functions. The 1914 budget was the first to show a surplus. To prevent the native workmen from becoming unemployed, public works were pushed ahead, especially the construction of the Kénitra-Fez Railway, which was indispensable for the free movement of troops and supplies. Although Lyautey on Aug. 20, 1914, had written to the French Minister of War that a French reverse in Europe would have an immediate and disastrous effect in Morocco and that he had planned military movements to meet a general uprising, at the end of the month, when rumors spread through Morocco that the French had lost Verdun and that Joffre had been disastrously cut off, so effective had been the psychological suggestion of French confidence that these reports produced no violent outbreak. By September Lyautey had put thirty-seven battalions on French soil instead of the thirty asked of him.

#### A RESERVOIR OF STRENGTH

What was the purpose of his determination to hold Morocco? "It is not to keep Morocco, which no longer counts," wrote Lyautey, a native of Lorraine, to the Minister of War while urging his plan of defense, "but to provide you with a reservoir up to the end and to give you the most possible, that I should like to maintain this front firmly. At the moment when the fight is raging north of Lunéville on my own

threshold, I can have no other care than the national defense." As a "reservoir," Morocco furnished to France as the war progressed volunteer regiments of natives and a continued flow of grain, meat, eggs and wool. In fact, it was the war which woke France to an appreciation of Moroccan resources.

So well did Lyautey's plan work that the end of the World War found French occupation of Morocco not only intact but enlarged and consolidated, the rebellious chieftains subdued, the most complete calm maintained in the pacified regions, while the country had not ceased to furnish combatants of the first rank on all the fields of battle.

Moroccan and French troops now act jointly in the name of the Sultan against lawless tribes, this being one of the foundation stones of French success. When a tribe submits, the younger men join their former enemy. French and natives serve without distinction, becoming fast friends and showing no aloofness because of religion or race. French troops have always been comparatively few in Morocco, since Tunisian, Algerian, and native troops are usually employed. Nowhere in the world is the color line less marked than in the North African Empire of France.

One of the most important results of the French occupation has been extensive agricultural development. To encourage the use of modern methods considerable tracts of land on railroads or highways were thrown open in 1918 for colonization on condition that the colonists used European farming methods. The success of these colonists aroused the emulation of the unprogressive native farmers, who, little by little, have begun to adopt new methods. A research bureau and experiment station, agricultural instruction in the rural school, and a course in agriculture in the Mussulman College at Fez pave the way for future development. In addition, the Government has arranged for short-term credits and lent capital to cooperatives in formation. Barley and wheat are the principal crops. Maize, sorghum, peas and beans are also exported. Dried roses, orange flowers, iris and marjolaine are exported to France and Spain. The raising of cattle, sheep and hogs was one of Morocco's important war services, and has been encouraged by Government aid. Cotton and European grapes are newly introduced and promise success.

In 1914 a Moorish postal service under French management replaced the foreign



postal services. In 1916 there was telephone service in only one town in Morocco outside Tangier, the port of Casablanca, and telegraphic communication between none; in 1918, more than 2,000 miles of telegraph lines connected the principal cities of the coast and interior, and telephone systems were in operation in six towns, with interurban connection. More than \$12,500,000 had been devoted to the construction of a network of highways, 1,500 miles of first and second class roads, as well as some others suitable for motor traffic, having been completed and 350 miles more being under construction.

At the beginning of the war there was no railroad in Morocco except the one which Germany had obliged France, by the treaty of 1911, to restrict to military use; by 1918, construction of this railroad and of others from Casablanca to Marrakesh and from Oudjda near the Algerian frontier to Fez in North Central Morocco had been pushed along so steadily that when France opened the military railroad to commercial and passenger traffic there were 479 miles of railroad, though most of it was of narrow gauge.

#### WIDESPREAD DEVELOPMENT

The opening of the narrow gauge military railway to commercial use in 1916 has been followed by the construction of others. Among the most important are a normal gauge line through the three zones from Tangier to Fez, still incomplete, and another from the phosphate fields to Casablanca. In all there were in the French zone in 1925 730 miles of narrow gauge and 308 miles of standard gauge railroad, 2,100 miles of first-class highways, 470 miles of second class and some other roads suitable for motor traffic. Bus lines ply between the cities and the first intercontinental airplane route ever established connects Casablanca and Rabat regularly with Toulouse, France. The end of twelve years of the French protectorate saw Morocco with 615 industrial plants with 7,223 employees and a total invested capital of 273,643,500 francs. Measured in francs, imports in 1924 amounted to 925,411,203 francs and exports to 622,182,021 francs. Translated into dollars at the exchange rate of late 1924, about 18½ francs to the

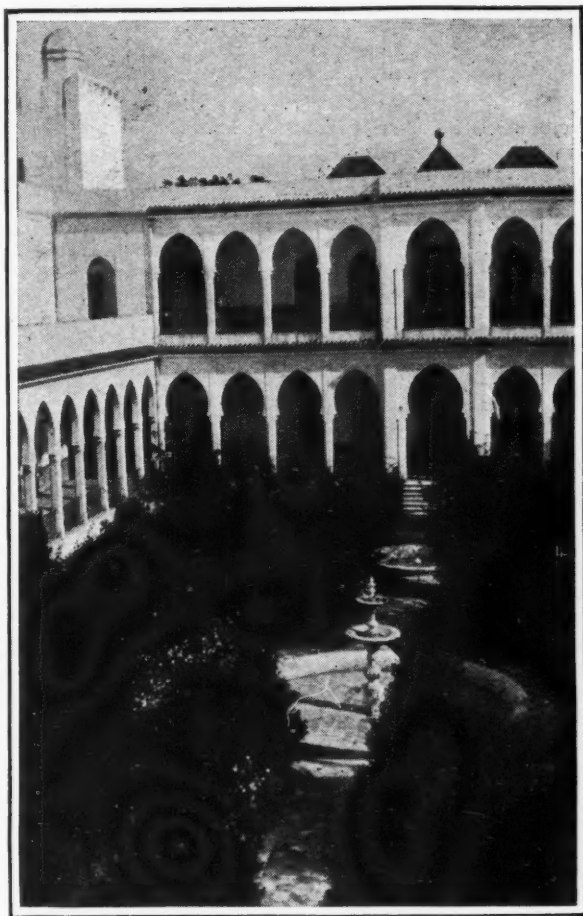


Photo by May Mott-Smith

Palace of the ex-Sultan Abd al-Aziz of Morocco, Tangier

dollar, these figures approximate \$50,000,000 for imports and \$33,000,000 for exports. (Provisional figures for 1925 show that imports were valued at 1,189,604,825 francs and exports at 564,416,937 francs.)

While industry and commerce thrived, education, health and sanitation, and the construction of public works did not lag. In the twelve-year period, the schools became five times more numerous, for the thirty-seven schools of 1912 were replaced by 199 schools with 938 teachers and 29,000 students. Moslem colleges flourish at Rabat and Fez. A great improvement in sanitation, in hospitals and in the reduction of epidemics and plagues also has characterized the French occupation. Smallpox and typhus have disappeared since 1914. The invasion of the native quarters by street

cleaners and by water and drainage was accomplished only gradually, after the natives had been attracted by the wide, clean boulevards and modern convenience of the new European sections of the cities.

Since 1914, the Moroccan budget has yielded a surplus of 180,000,000 francs, of which 125,000,000 has been devoted to public works. French loans have provided more for the same purpose; 330,000,000 francs going to the improvement of harbors, 132,000,000 to roads and bridges, 61,500,000 to agriculture and forests, 90,000,000 to the development of hydraulic power and 36,000,000 to the phosphate mines. A forestry service has been established to protect Morocco's 3,750,000 acres of forest. Work on the harbor at Casablanca began in 1913; it now has a capacity of 2,000,000 tons a year. Similar operations in other ports on the west coast are monuments of French enterprise.

The phosphate mines, operated under Government monopoly, produced 96,000 tons in 1922; 430,000 tons in 1924; and the estimated 1925 output was 700,000 tons.

Draining the fever-breeding valleys, harnessing cataracts, irrigating the desert, planting vineyards and orange and olive groves play their part in the pacification of Morocco along with the introduction of such varied products of European civilization as the motion picture, the phonograph and the popular election.

Growth of the cities accompanies this economic development. Casablanca, the chief port and business centre, has almost tripled in size in twelve years, having grown from a population of 42,000 in 1913 to 110,000 in 1925; Marrakesh has nearly doubled, expanding from 87,000 to 145,000; and Fez, the capital and cultural centre, from 102,000 to 124,000 population.

Exporting barley, wheat, beans, sheep, cattle and hogs, Morocco is chiefly an agricultural country, but it still contains vast undeveloped resources. The forests and rich mineral deposits are unexploited because of lack of transportation facilities in the mountainous interior. Many minerals exist, many of them apparently in large quantities, in the still unpacified and insecure mountain regions. The chief handicap to the development of industry is the absence of coal and oil, but this is offset by the hydraulic power provided by the swift mountain streams and utilized only since the French occupation.

The most stubborn resistance France encountered in Morocco was that offered by the Riffians, who are under the Spanish

protectorate. International agreements of 1905 and 1911 assigned 85 per cent. of Morocco to France and a 300-mile strip along the Mediterranean coast to Spain, while internationalizing Tangier, a 150-mile section opposite Gibraltar. The fiercely independent Berber tribes dwelling in the inaccessible Riff mountain region had been carrying on a guerrilla war against Spain since 1909 in order to prevent exploitation of mines in the mountains. The trouble became more acute in 1919, and in 1921 Abd-el-Krim, by an overwhelming defeat of a great Spanish army at Melilla, gained enough prestige to proclaim himself Sultan of Morocco and declare a Holy War.

France had many reasons for regarding with the greatest uneasiness Spain's failure to establish order in the Riff. Constant incursions of tribesmen into French territory in the direction of Fez threatened the military railroad and caused restlessness among the outlying semi-pacified tribes, whom Abd-el-Krim hoped to intimidate into joining him. A French force had to be kept occupied driving the Spanish rebels back to the border, but treaty obligations restrained France from following them up and making the victory decisive. The Berber tribes could therefore bait France almost with impunity. Abd-el-Krim's appeal for a Holy War complicated the situation in the outlying districts of the French zone. France could not permit the agitation to reach such proportions as to threaten Morocco. The loss of Morocco would mean a new frontier to defend and would render difficult, if not impossible, the maintenance of the rest of the French North African possessions. Besides, somebody was providing Abd-el-Krim with arms and supplies. His artillery, telegraph service, hand grenades and other modern war equipment placed him almost on a par with the French.

#### DEFEAT OF ABD-EL-KRIM

When at length the French and Spanish came to an agreement and together began a great pincer movement from north and south against Abd-el-Krim's forces, France as usual counted less on exercise of military strength than on the mere display of vast force, combined with the skillful manipulation of psychological factors. Propaganda to detach Abd-el-Krim's allies and undermine the loyalty of his chieftains had a pronounced effect. It was apparently the defection of several tribes, causing a loss of 18,000 rifles, that compelled the Riffian leader to surrender.

Abd-el-Krim yielded more willingly to

the French than he would have to the Spanish. The prestige which France's policy in Morocco has given her is here clearly seen. The French commander refused to follow the Spanish example of using poison gas against the Riffians in revenge for the cruel mutilations they were practicing on the wounded and prisoners. He reasoned, consistently with the French policy, that retaliation would not stop the atrocities, that it would bring suffering and resentment to persons who might otherwise be detached from the rebel cause, and that when the trouble was over the victims would be ghastly reminders of civilized barbarity. French prisoners who fell into the hands of the Riffians consequently fared better than the Spanish, and Abd-el-Krim, while protesting against Spanish domination, expressed respect for the French. France directed her actions in the Riff to restoring order and putting down the rebellion without leaving any more sore spots than were necessary. Tribes were won away by promises of the restoration of their flocks, herds and lands. In the dispute between France and Spain over Abd-el-Krim's punishment, the French again were careful to sterilize wounds where infection might later spread. The Spanish wished to have him tried by a mixed French and Spanish commission on charges of abusing and killing Spanish war prisoners. The French succeeded in having him sent into honorable exile.

France has clearly been of value to

Morocco. Of what value is Morocco to France? The French colonial empire, far from being the luxury that some critics claim, is the delicate and expensive viand that sustains life in an invalid France. Colonies are superfluous, in the opinion of many persons, to so thinly populated a country, but it may be reasoned that it is precisely this small population which makes a colonial empire necessary if France is to remain one of the great Powers. Depopulated by war and unable to keep pace with the birthrate of neighboring States, France must rely on her colonies to fill the menacing gaps in her army, and prolific Morocco, which furnishes large volunteer levies, is vital to the defense of the mother country, as the World War proved. Poincaré revealed this in a speech at Brioules in 1923, when he said, "Germany attempts to discredit our faithful black troops because she does not wish us to be a nation of a hundred million men." Proposals such as a suggestion to fill the gaps among the agricultural laborers between 18 and 45 by selective immigration from North Africa, prove how dependent French civilization is on the colonies. Marshal Lyautey has well said: "This land means to our race what the Far West meant to Americans—a field for developing energy and for rejuvenating our creative resources." For economic and military reasons Morocco is essential to France, while for social, commercial and industrial reasons Morocco needs the direct influence of a European Power.



# Prohibition in Porto Rico

By J. E. CUESTA

Formerly in the United States Customs Service in Porto Rico

TO the average American reader the phrase "prohibition in Porto Rico" may sound strange, as he is generally used to thinking of Porto Rico, if at all, as a "foreign" West Indian island, and in the minds of most Americans the West Indies are not entirely unjustifiably associated with shiploads of "booze" and rum runners. There is, nevertheless, real prohibition in Porto Rico, and it came about in the following way:

In 1916, at the time when the dry movement started gathering strength in the States, it found its echo on the island of Porto Rico. Soon propaganda was at work there, with the result that prohibition was made an issue in the 1916 elections, was included in the electoral ticket and carried by a large majority vote. Accordingly, when the Jones-Shaffroth act, the new organic act of the island, was adopted by the United States Congress on March 2, 1917, it contained a clause making prohibition enforceable one year after approval of the act, with the proviso, however, that at any general election held on the island within five years after the act was approved the "dry" clause might be submitted to a second vote, upon petition by no less than 10 per cent. of the qualified electors of the island and made void by a majority vote of said electors.

Moreover, the liquor question was made a moral issue by prohibition agitators, the result being that those holding "wet" views were placed in the position of defending immorality if they went into the fight, and therefore, for the most part, abstained from engaging in the campaign, along with those financially interested in the liquor business. The prohibition forces were thus left free to exert their influence upon the voters and they did their utmost in that direction. The backbone of the drys was formed by the Protestant clergy, aided by a few social workers who had acquired their prohibition ideas in the States and who for the most part thought in good faith that prohibition would be a godsend and the remedy whereby all the social ills of the island's population would be wiped out. The Catholic clergy, on the other hand, remained non-committal and strictly refrained from de-

fending or attacking the "dry" movement, having maintained this position to the present time. The immediate result of these conditions was an overwhelming vote for prohibition in the 1916 election.

The United States having entered the World War one month after the Jones-Shaffroth act was declared in force, prohibition was additionally enforced as a war measure, its beneficial influence as such being unquestioned, as there were over 15,000 of the island's young men in camp throughout the war period. Moreover, when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted by the United States Congress, unlike the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico was not among the United States possessions expressly excluded from the application of its provisions. The result of all these events, crowding one upon the other, was that, although it would have been entirely possible to obtain the required 10 per cent. of the total number of voters to demand that the dry clause be voted upon a second time the wets were so unarmed and overwhelmed by this rapid sequence of happenings that they dismissed the issue and resigned themselves to the will of the "majority," as expressed at the polls.

However, as the demand for liquor remained and even increased, bootleggers and moonshiners began to organize their clandestine business along more or less the same lines as in the States, being particularly favored by the fact that since the island produces sugar cane there is a superabundance of low-priced molasses from which cheap grade rum can be made at very little expense and trouble. Furthermore, the fact that Porto Rico boasts plenty of fine out-of-the-way harbors and is only a short distance from other islands under foreign flags where liquor is plentiful and cheap, makes it exceedingly easy for bootleggers to obtain liquor of all kinds and grades.

It is well to remark here that before prohibition the liquor question never constituted a major ill in Porto Rico. Since the population was mostly of Spanish origin, table wine was widely used, but the use of "strong" liquor was condemned by the majority, and, although cane rum of good



quality was manufactured and sold in public drinking places, its use was restricted to a small proportion of the population, cases of plain drunkenness being the exception rather than the rule. Since prohibition, however, the case is different. Drinking, which was shunned and limited in the high circles of the best society, is now freely indulged in by the most honorable people of both sexes, and stills exist by hundreds in which cheap rum is manufactured to supply the poorer classes who cannot afford high priced foreign liquor.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT UNSUCCESSFUL

Enforcement of the dry law, as is the case in the average community in the States, has been a failure in Porto Rico. Before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment enforcement was entirely in the hands of the local police, the dry law being then the law of the Territory. Soon after the adoption of the amendment a prohibition force was created and maintained by the Federal Government, but their efforts resulted for the most part in failure. The law, it may be stated, has been enforced chiefly by the local police, despite the fact that their numbers were not increased for the purpose, and by the United States Customs Service, the latter until recently being only responsible for the detection of smuggling operations, for which purpose this service was inadequately equipped and sorely handicapped by lack of personnel. Since the consolidation of the Customs, Internal Revenue and Prohibition Divisions under one head at Washington, however, the enforcement of the dry law has been placed entirely under the direction of the Collector General of Customs on the island, always with the cooperation of the insular police force. While quick results have been shown by this new arrangement, the fact is that the Customs Service still does not have at its disposal the necessary equipment and personnel to cope with the situation in an efficient manner and cover the island's coast line thoroughly.

Furthermore, the authorities are handicapped by the fact that popular sentiment is largely against the law. The bootleggers count among their patrons persons in all walks of life and in the highest as well as the lowest levels of society. It is therefore rare to find any persons willing to furnish information leading to detection and even after violators are brought into court it is very hard to obtain conviction against them, since most of the important cases are tried by jury. In a recent session of the Federal

Court, during which a large number of dry law violations were tried, there was hardly one conviction in every ten cases, notwithstanding the fact that overwhelming proof was usually furnished by the prosecution. The Federal officers have also, in many cases, lacked proper support by the insular authorities in running down and prosecuting law violators.

One of the most important newspapers recently conducted a straw vote on prohibition, the result being almost unanimously for repeal, with a small minority advocating a wine and beer amendment. When we compare this with the showing made in 1916 it looks as if we must admit that the results of dry law enforcement have caused a radical change in public opinion.

Financially, the island has not benefited from dry law enforcement. The liquor business was formerly an important source of Government revenue, netting the Treasury over \$1,000,000 annually, an amount which it is finding difficult to make up from other sources. Then the cost of prosecuting law violators is by no means a small item, while fines imposed make a poor showing, due to the fact that most of those tried by the courts are operators of stills and petty bootleggers, people of small means, in many cases poor peons, who, if convicted, must as a rule go to jail, thus becoming an additional charge on the Government. The liquor seized, which was previously sold by the Customs Service to pharmacists and other people entitled to buy, must now be all destroyed under a recent departmental ruling, so that no income whatsoever accrues to the Treasury from that source. Since the Customs Service has been charged with the enforcement of prohibition the expenses thus incurred by the service must be met out of the revenues collected at the custom houses, which means an additional outlay from funds that would normally accrue to the Insular Treasury under the existing organic act. This expense, previously borne by the Federal Government, amounts to over \$50,000 annually. To the other losses must also be added the amount lost in revenue on foreign liquor, which was formerly imported in large quantities through the Custom House.

The Volstead enforcement act has greatly impaired the foreign trade of Porto Rico. Before prohibition many Spanish, French, Italian and other foreign vessels called regularly at the island's ports, between which and their home countries they maintained a flourishing trade. These vessels brought

merchandise on which customs duties were collected for the benefit of the island's Treasury and carried away the island's produce. But after the Volstead law was put in force on the island, with its provision that no vessel could enter American waters with alcoholic beverages on board, most of those foreign vessels stopped using the island's ports of call, inasmuch as they could not forego their own countries' liquor export trade for the sake of the relatively small trade which they carried on with Porto Rico. The immediate result was a serious decrease in the island's foreign trade and increased difficulties of exportation. Although most of the countries which formerly traded with Porto Rico have since entered into the so-called twelve-mile treaty with the United States, this has had little effect on the situation, as the foreign steamship lines have now new schedules adjusted to the new conditions and in most cases are unwilling to change unless large inducements are offered, which, under the existing conditions of post-war trade depression, the island is not in a position to offer. Its Government, moreover, has no control over the United States tariff and no power to enter into commercial treaties with any foreign nation. Thus only a small number of foreign vessels call at Porto Rico and the island has no direct communication with European countries.

#### MORAL EFFECTS BAD

The effect of prohibition on the morals of the population is no less discouraging. Before prohibition the people had a great deal of respect for all law and particularly for Federal laws, violations thereof being very rare. The mere mention of the Federal Court was usually sufficient to inspire awe in the most hardened lawbreakers, and smuggling and other breaches of the tariff act were practically unknown. Since, however, the people have grown used to violating prohibition, respect for Federal law has been considerably impaired, the law being openly defied by otherwise most honorable people. Drinking among the rising generation has almost ceased to be considered a sin, the example being set by their elders, who indulge in it often merely through a desire to maintain what they were used to

consider as their inalienable right. The number of crimes and accidents directly or indirectly traceable to alcohol also increased.

Another feature of the situation, the ominous importance of which cannot be underestimated by any one interested in the maintenance of good relations between Porto Rico and the United States, is the marked effect of Federal dry law enforcement on the attitude of the Porto Ricans toward the United States Government.

While the prohibition law was enforced by the insular authorities the people vented their feeling against their own courts and police, who, it must be said to their credit, bore stanchly the tempest of popular anti-dry feeling. Since, however, enforcement has been taken over almost exclusively by the United States Customs Service and the Federal Court, and since that court has authorized wholesale searches of the homes of private citizens, in the performance of which the authorities have been often charged with truculent methods and high-handed procedure, a change in public opinion has been very noticeable. In fact, popular hostility against the Federal Government has even at times taken the form of armed resistance and lack of support of the efforts of the enforcement officers, and there have been frequent utterances in the local press against what is considered a violation of the people's most sacred right, the inviolability of their homes and property. As a logical sequence a good part of this ill-feeling is directed against the United States Government and American institutions in general. Recently, in the course of a prohibition trial at court, a lawyer openly alluded to the "high-handed way in which the Federal Government was suppressing the personal liberty of the people of the island," and made an appeal to the jurors "to assert the sovereignty of the people of Porto Rico by bringing in a not-guilty verdict."

Thus we are confronted by the undeniable fact that dry law enforcement, as carried on at present, constitutes a de-Americanizing factor in Porto Rico. The extent of the influence of this is yet an unknown quantity, but it must be admitted that it embodies ominous possibilities.



# The Antiquity of Man in America

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, *Science Service*, Washington, D. C.

ALL of us learned in our history books that Columbus discovered America in 1492. Most of us realize that Indians lived in the "New World" before that time, but nearly every one, most anthropologists and archaeologists included, believe that before the Indians came from Asia some 8,000 to 25,000 years ago, man had not set foot on the American continents. The Old World has produced evidences of man's slow and painful climb of the ages: *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the Heidelberg man, the Neanderthals and the Cro-Magnons. These human creatures left their bones as evidence of their existence; in other localities, such as Foxhall, England, there are found arrowheads and flints that are indications that men, living at the dawn of the human race, once dwelt there. Europe or Asia is considered the cradle of the human race; suggestions that America might have been the habitat of early man have been discounted and condemned.

Notwithstanding this feeling, there have been unearthed in America in the last fifty years some evidence favoring the idea that men, more ancient than the Indians, dwelt in America. Scientists are not agreed as to the authenticity of the claims that have been made. Charcoal evidence of a prehistoric fire was unearthed beneath a mastodon in New York State; an arrowhead was reported discovered in close association with an extinct bison in Kansas; a tooth ascribed to a hitherto unknown ancient man was discovered by Harold J. Cook in Nebraska several years ago; and more recently human remains from Florida have been put forward as being of equal antiquity to prehistoric man of Europe. In 1914 human remains were discovered at Vero, Florida, and in 1925 Dr. W. J. Gidley unearthed in Pleistocene strata what is known as the Melbourne skull. At both Melbourne and Vero the human remains were found in association with the bones of extinct animals.

Reinforcing this more or less fragmentary array, there comes from three localities in Western America new evidence that primitive man lived in America at a vastly earlier time than has been generally be-

lieved. Arrowheads and other artifacts showing human handiwork are reported by J. D. Figgins and Harold J. Cook, scientists of the Colorado Museum of Natural History at Denver, as a result of work at Frederick, Tillman County, Okla.; Colorado, Mitchell County, Texas, and Folsom, Union County, New Mexico. These human relics, because of their association with extinct animals and geological deposits of known antiquity, are assigned to the geological period that scientists know as the Pleistocene. That was the time of the great Ice Age, when Northeastern America was periodically covered with an immense glacier and when prehistoric elephants and mastodons roamed the land. It was from 25,000 to 1,000,000 years ago.

From all three sites, arrowheads have been unearthed in close association with extinct animals. Along Lone Wolf Creek, near the town of Colorado, Texas, flood waters exposed the bones of an extinct species of bison, and while large blocks of the earth in which they were embedded were being removed for transportation to the museum, three arrowheads, totally unlike those in any known collections, were found beneath a nearly complete skeleton. The arrowheads were of grayish flint, thin and not notched.

At Folsom, New Mexico, fossil bones were discovered at the extraordinary altitude of 7,000 feet, and among the fossil bones were found two arrowheads similar to those found in Colorado. The bones were identified as those of three hitherto unknown and extinct species of bison and an ancient deer-like animal. An exact geological determination of the age of the deposit has not been made, but it is believed to be late Pleistocene.

The locality richest in evidence of ancient man in America is near Frederick, Okla. F. G. Priestly, after reading an article calling attention to the possibility of ancient man having existed in America, realized that arrowheads and stone grinding implements that were being uncovered from time to time by steam shovels in a sand and gravel pit might be of some interest. With



the cooperation of A. H. Hollman, owner of the gravel pit, he reported the discovery, and Mr. Cook, with Mr. Figgins, promptly investigated. There they found three distinct layers of deposits, and in a very short time two arrowheads and some seven metates, primitive grinding instruments, were excavated from the pit. Those working in the pit remembered other stones that had, before realization of their significance, been thrown away. With the artifacts, as in the other cases, remains of extinct animals were found, and eight feet above the level at which the grinding stones nearest the surface were discovered, there were found remains of the mammoth, including numerous teeth. This is considered strong evidence of the great antiquity of the arrowheads and the metates. A representative of the Colorado Museum of Natural History is now at the gravel pit to collect and preserve any other such finds.

Inspection of the arrowheads discovered shows them to be primitive, and yet, Mr. Figgins points out, the man who made them must have progressed considerably in culture. Mr. Cook has made a careful study of the geology of the three places where discoveries were made and he has expressed himself as "convinced of contemporaneous association" of the artifacts with Pleistocene deposits and animal remains "surprising as such a culture at that time may seem."

#### ANIMAL PSYCHOLOGY

Since apes are close approaches to men in many ways, it is natural that they should be studied. Psychologists have long attempted to get into communication with apes and their minds by making them talk. Two experimenters, Dr. Robert M. Yerkes and Margaret S. Child of the Institute of Psychology at Yale University are of the opinion that a chimpanzee might be taught to talk with its fingers, as deaf people talk, more easily than it could be taught to imitate sounds of human speech. Several scientists who have observed and studied higher apes have tried to teach them to say words, but without much success. Dr. Yerkes believes the chief reason for the ape's failure to develop speech is the absence of a tendency to imitate sounds. Seeing strongly stimulates an ape to imitation, but hearing seems to have no such effect. He believes that the sounds made by apes are not language, but are primarily emotional expressions, which are not learned by imitation. A French scientist, Louis Boutan, who observed a female gibbon for five years, has

concluded that a young child who has not learned to speak, works like the gibbon. A child who is beginning to talk no longer works like the ape but directs its efforts along a definite line, like a man. The difference, according to this investigator, is not due to the age of the child, but to the development of language, which the ape lacks.

Such studies as these lead to the problem of how animals feel about things. And psychologists studying animal behavior despair of ever understanding the sensations of a dog or squirrel. According to Dr. Carl J. Warden of Columbia University, most psychologists today have concluded that it is only guesswork to try to describe the purely mental processes of animals in terms of human mental processes, since the animals cannot communicate their sensations and feelings. In the sixteenth century the famous essayist Montaigne declared that a fox's decision not to cross a river when the ice is too thin would be reached by "a kind of debating reason and consequence, drawn from natural sense." Montaigne believed that the fox would listen to the rushing water and then think out the situation somewhat as follows: "Whatsoever maketh a noise moveth, whatsoever moveth is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen is liquid, whatsoever is liquid yields under any weight." And after this convincing logic, the fox would go away. Such theories as these led medieval philosophers to debate whether animals had souls, and to escape this disturbing problem the famous philosopher Descartes in the seventeenth century went so far as to say that an animal is a simple machine without sensations. In most psychological studies of animals today, however, scientists confine themselves to studying the behavior and physiology of these lower forms of life. Modern scientists believe that, judging from behavior, many species of animals feel anger, fear, hunger, pleasure and apprehension. Recent experiments with higher apes have shown evidence that somehow they reason and think. But how it feels to be a chimpanzee and how a mind can work without organized language may never be discovered by man.

#### HOW SCIENTISTS WORK

The scientist occasionally looks in a mirror and thinks about his own mind and conduct. One of those who has made a study of the scientist and of human conduct in general is Dr. William E. Ritter, President of Science Service and formerly professor at the University of California. The



trained scientist, Dr. Ritter believes, uses his mind as effectively as the opera singer uses his voice, or as effectively as the circus performer handles his body. The scientist, who is often pictured as cold and matter-of-fact, needs imagination as much as the artist does, and would be helpless without it. He is, however, bound by the rules of his game far more rigidly than the artist, because he must check the imagined things against real things more rigorously than the poet or novelist. "The ability to use the mind for framing imaginary or hypothetical answers to questions," says Dr. Ritter, "and then to work tirelessly year in and year out, if need be, to prove whether the imaginary answers do or do not correspond to the objective realities in the case is exceedingly far-reaching in its significance for the discovery of truth, and for human welfare." Always before the scientist is the goal of conquest of nature. Some pride themselves on doing work that does not seem to have a practical application. Frequently they find that the progress of the world is now at such a rate that the "pure science" of the morning of their lives has been utilized in the afternoon. The human race is multiplying so fast in both numbers and demands that there is always an exciting race between demand and science, between shortage and supply. Things wasted yesterday become valuable tomorrow.

#### CORN CROP BY-PRODUCT

Just when the corn borer is threatening the great American corn belt, when an army of Federal and State Government entomologists and agents are waging a \$10,000,000 war against the insect foe, a search is being begun to utilize more fully the American corn crop. How to put corn stalks, peanut shells, and cotton stalks to use are problems that engineers of the United States Bureau of Standards are tackling. Congress appropriated \$50,000, available on July 1, for an investigation looking toward the utilization of waste products from the growing of corn, peanuts and cotton. Scientists recall that at one time the seeds of cotton were considered valueless and that now they form the raw material for a vast industry. The grains of corn, except for the relatively small part of the leaves and stalk used for fodder, constitute the only usable part of America's great corn crop, and since the grain represents only about a fifth of the total weight of the corn plant, experts see the possibility of using the stalks and cobs.

Various methods of harvesting, collecting and bringing together enough stalks to make utilization possible are being considered. Manufacture of paper, alcohol, and other chemical products from the stalks are being considered. A similar problem is presented by the peanut hulls which now constitute a waste by-product of large magnitude. Thus it may be that American girls may soon be wearing rayon stockings and dresses that grew in the form of corn stalks on an American farm.

#### THE PONS-WINNECKE COMET

Comets come and go, but not for some time has the general public been treated to a nightly view of a celestial wanderer attracted by the sun. The Pons-Winnecke comet was discovered at the Yerkes Observatory in March and according to computations it will be less than four million miles away from the earth at the end of June. That probably means that it will be visible to the unaided eye. Since the comet was last in the earth's view, six years ago, when it did not approach nearly as close as it will now, it has been subjected to perturbations by the gravitational attraction of Jupiter and other bodies, which are very difficult to compute, and so its exact position on its present return could not be predicted precisely. Observations at the Yerkes Observatory will record its position, measure the comet's brightness, and still others, by means of the spectroscope, which analyzes its light, will determine its composition. The tail, which will appear as the comet approaches nearer the sun, is known to consist largely of carbon monoxide, a deadly gas frequently produced on earth as a product of incomplete combustion of coal or other fuel.

A new comet was discovered by Dr. Carl L. Stearns of the Van Vleck Observatory at Wesleyan University and subsequently sighted by other observers. This visitor was not close enough to be visible to the naked eye and will thus escape public attention.

#### THE GREAT NEBULAE

The immense expansion of our known universe that has resulted from the use of the world's largest telescope, the 100-inch at Mount Wilson, by Dr. Edwin Hubble, is one of the most fascinating achievements in modern science. Dr. Hubble showed the spiral nebulae to be systems of stars like the one of which the sun, other visible stars, the Milky Way, and quite incidentally the earth, are a part. Dr. J. H. Jeans, a lead-

ing British astronomer, declares that the spiral nebulae show an almost continuous series of stages in the evolution of stars. Commenting on Dr. Hubble's work, Dr. Jeans states that "he paints a most fascinating picture of the system formed by the great nebulae, and frames it in such convincing observational evidence that it would be difficult to reject it. As seen in a telescope, the great nebulae differ widely in shape, size and brightness. But Dr. Hubble brings a mass of evidence to prove that differences in size and brightness between nebulae of the same shape are almost entirely due to a distance effect. If all the nebulae were put in a row at the same distance from us, it would at once be seen that nebulae of the same shape all had approximately the same dimensions and luminosity, while even nebulae of different shapes would exhibit only comparatively small ranges of dimensions and luminosity, especially the latter."

As a result it is possible to estimate the distances of all the nebulae, even the very faintest that can be seen with a powerful telescope. The faintest that can be observed with the great 100-inch telescope at Mount Wilson, the world's largest, prove to be so distant that light takes 140,000,000 years to reach us from them, traveling about six trillion miles a year. Some two million nebulae lie within this distance, at an average distance of about 1,800,000 light years apart. Dr. Jeans suggests a model of this vast horde of galaxies. "Take 20 tons of walnuts," he says, "and space them at about 25 yards apart, thus filling a sphere of about a mile radius. This sphere is the range of vision of the 100-inch telescope; each walnut is a nebulae containing matter enough for the creation of perhaps a thousand million suns like ours; each atom in each walnut is a solar system with a diameter equal to that of the earth's orbit."

It is almost certain, says Dr. Jeans, that the various forms of nebulae represent dif-

ferent stages in evolution, and, incidentally, agree with the sequence which he suggested in 1917 on theoretical grounds. Starting out with a sphere of gas, it changes to an onion-shaped mass, which mathematicians call an oblate spheroid, and then to a lens-shaped figure. Then the gas streams out into two arms where it condenses into many smaller masses which eventually become stars. Finally the whole cloud of gas has been transformed into a cloud of stars. As these nebulae are approximately equally spaced as far as we can see into the heavens, Dr. Jeans suggests that the nebulae themselves are the result of the condensation of a still earlier cloud of gas hundreds of millions of light years in diameter and extremely tenuous. Such a gas would have had a density expressed as a fraction of that of ordinary air by the figure one over a one followed by 31 ciphers. This scheme, he points out, fits in with the law of gravitation, the known properties of gases, and survives the test of numerical computation.

#### VALUE OF LONGER LIVES

By increasing the length of life science has added millions of dollars to the wealth of the nation. According to estimates, the increase in earning power of our population on account of the longer life of this generation amounts to \$2,300,000,000 a year for men alone. Accurate data on the earning capacity for women is lacking, but estimates made by statistical experts of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company put the total increase in earning power since 1901 at \$3,500,000,000. This gain in ability to earn money has come about as the result of the recent improvement in extension of life. In 1901 a male at birth was considered to have a potential value of \$7,553, but in 1924 the average was estimated at \$9,333. The gain of \$1,780 potential value at birth is due to the longer life an individual can now be expected to live with a consequent longer period of earning capacity.



# America's Attitude on War Debt Cancellation

*(Full Text of Mr. Mellon's Letter)*

THE controversy regarding the whole question of the settlement of debts owed to the United States by various European Powers entered a new stage early in March with the endorsement by 116 members of the Faculty of Princeton University of a previous statement issued by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, on Dec. 19, 1926, both of these statements urging a reconsideration and reduction of the debt settlements in a spirit of altruistic idealism; and with the publication of a formal reply to the Princeton statement by Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. (The Columbia University statement was published in the January issue of this magazine.) The Princeton University statement was made public at Princeton on March 10, 1927. It was very brief and read as follows:

We, the undersigned, members of the Faculty of Princeton University, heartily endorse the desire, expressed by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, for a reconsideration of the settlement of the allied debts.

President Hibben at the same time issued the following statement:

The signatures of the 116 members of the Princeton Faculty constitute one more indication, in a lengthening series, that the enlightened opinion of the country calls for a revision of the debt settlements with our former allies. However well intentioned may have been the motives of our representatives who approved the terms of these settlements, and however lenient these terms may be represented to be by those who wish to insist on our generosity, there is a growing recognition that the settlements so far effected do not meet the actual situation. Even granting the capacity of our debtors to fulfill our stipulations, which is now openly questioned, we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries who are struggling to regain their strength at the very time when we are amassing a national fortune. To urge our Government's obligation to its citizen bondholders and taxpayers is to evade the real issue, which does not concern the relation of the Government to the people, but our national policy toward certain other States. To divorce the financial provisions of the loans from the moral situation in which they were asked for and given is to invent an unreal economic ab-

straction. Against the contention that this question should not be raised until all our debtors have come to book there is a ready rejoinder that it would be wiser to adopt a policy which would facilitate agreements with the remaining parties and then revise previous agreements. Finally, there is good reason to believe that in economics, as well as in morals, altruism is indistinguishable from true self-interest.

The reply of Secretary Mellon to the Princeton broadside was in the form of a letter to President Hibben, dated March 15, the full text of which read as follows:

Treasury Department,  
Washington, March 15, 1927.

My Dear President Hibben:

Your statement and that signed by 116 members of the Princeton University Faculty endorsing the statement issued by the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia and urging the reconsideration and revision of the debt settlements with our former associates in the war have come to my attention.

I recognize, of course, the propriety of a frank expression of opinion on important public questions on the part of those in responsible positions, but I am somewhat surprised that before giving the public the benefits of their conclusions neither the gentlemen of the Faculty of Columbia University nor those of the Faculty of Princeton University saw fit to make a thorough and first-hand investigation of data available at the Treasury or sought by personal interview to ascertain the views of the American officials who negotiated the settlements.

The training of these gentlemen, their standing as economists, historians and teachers of government, would have led me to believe that they would have conceived it to be their first duty to present a dispassionate analysis of the facts based on original study rather than to submit their conclusions unsupported by facts.

Moreover, it would not have been amiss for you and your associates to have taken into consideration that one of these agreements has not been ratified and that the inevitable effect of such a pronouncement would be to encourage and strengthen the opposition in foreign countries to such a ratification, an encouragement entirely unwarranted by the circumstances, in view of the fact that the American people, expressing themselves through their chosen representatives in the House of Representatives, have approved of this agreement, and that the debate, when the measure was before the House for consideration, indicated that an overwhelming majority of the Representatives were opposed to more lenient terms.

It is highly probable that such expressions of opinion, far from making the adjustment of these outstanding obligations easier, will sim-



ply increase the difficulties of obtaining a better understanding and a ratification of the agreement.

In this connection I cannot refrain from pointing out, in answer to the plea urging the reopening of all debt settlements, that it is not so long since all of our soundest economists claimed, and rightly claimed, that the one prerequisite to the restoration of economic prosperity in the world was an early settlement of these debts between Governments.

The adoption of the Dawes plan, the ratification of the various agreements between Governments providing for payment of this vast unfunded obligation have, in the course of the last few years, contributed mightily to the progress that has been accomplished. Reopening all of the settlements would, in my judgment, be a step backward and not forward, and one calculated to produce discord and confusion rather than to contribute to the economic stability and orderly betterment of world prosperity.

In your statement you say that to divorce the financial provisions of the loans from the moral situation in which they were asked for and given is to invent an unreal economic abstraction. By this I take it you mean to endorse the argument advanced by the Columbia Faculty that our war advances to our associates were not at the time they were made regarded as business transactions, but rather as joint contributions to a common cause.

Admitting, of course, that the Congressional debates indicate clearly that the Congress was quite willing to loan this money, even on the assumption that there was a considerable element of risk in so far as ultimate recovery was concerned, nevertheless, the record indicates beyond dispute that these were loans and not contributions, and, though not in form, in actual effect loans from individual American citizens rather than contributions from the Treasury of the United States.

The act providing for these loans authorized the United States Government to sell Liberty bonds to its own people, and to invest the proceeds of these bonds in the bonds of these foreign Governments, the latter bonds to bear the same interest as the Liberty bonds sold and to have the same maturities. What we allowed our associates to do, in effect, was to borrow money in our investment market, but since their credit was not as good as ours, to borrow on the credit of the United States rather than on their own.

Looking at the substance rather than the form of the transaction, the situation was no different than if they had actually sold their own bonds in the American market and our Government had endorsed them. Had this course been followed would any one contend that the sums advanced were intended as contributions to a joint enterprise rather than loans expected to be repaid?

As a corollary to this first proposition it is urged that if these advances were not to be considered contributions as an original measure, they ought now to be so considered because our associates were not fighting their own battle alone but ours as well, and that for some months we were unable to put many troops into line. I am not going to attempt a discussion of the military contribution made by the United States to the winning of the war, other than to remark that when the crucial period was reached in the Spring and Summer of 1918 our troops were there.

I recognize that there is merit in the con-

tention that the Associated Governments might well have joined in pooling their resources in a common cause and that even now an argument can be made in favor of writing off debts incurred after our entry into the war to the extent that they were incurred for contributions to a common cause, but, and this is an all-important reservation, there is merit to such an argument only if the proposed adjustment is to be a mutual one and is to be applied on a strictly equal basis. This factor, however, is one that seems to have been completely overlooked by the Faculties of Columbia and Princeton Universities and by other advocates of debt cancellation urging the common cause contribution argument.

Early in the war, in order to minimize the dislocation of exchanges and for sound economic reasons the general principle was established that goods and services purchased by one ally in the country of another ally should be financed by the latter.

That is to say, that if France purchased supplies and services in England the British Government would furnish the pounds with which to buy them, and, vice versa, when Great Britain bought goods and services in France the French Government would undertake to furnish the francs. As to whether in the latter case the francs were furnished on credit or for cash I do not know, but in the former case the pounds were furnished on credit.

When we came into the war we readily agreed to apply this sound principle to our transactions with our associates. That is to say, we agreed to furnish them the dollars with which all their purchases in the United States should be consummated and, what is more, we agreed to lend them those dollars. This was the origin of these debts. But here is the fact that is not mentioned and which you gentlemen have apparently overlooked.

We purchased supplies and services from France and the British Empire by hundreds of millions. They had to be paid for in francs and in pounds. We did not get those francs and pounds on credit—we paid cash for them, except possibly in a few comparatively minor instances. In other words, we paid cash for the goods and services necessary to enable us to make our joint contribution to the common cause. Our associates got the goods and services purchased in this country necessary to enable them to make that part of their joint contribution on credit. Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with every one owing us and our owing no one.

We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in a common cause, but neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that, if this is to be done, we are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause.

In this connection, one other fact may well be called to your attention. Among the purposes for which we made dollar advances was that of maintaining the franc and the pound at somewhere near their normal values. In other words, we loaned our associates the dollars with which to purchase bills on London and Paris and so permit them to peg the exchanges.

When we were obliged to purchase francs and sterling for our own uses in the Paris and London markets, we did so at the artificial

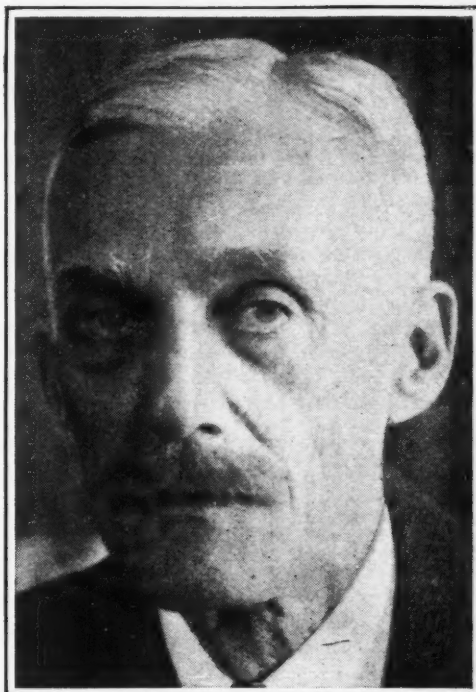


prices maintained by the use of the very funds we had loaned.

I have no desire to emphasize this point. I mention it, together with the situation above described, as factors which had to be considered by those charged with the responsibility of negotiating the settlements on behalf of the American Government, and which, with other important ones, could have been readily ascertained by those undertaking to advise our people, had they availed themselves of the opportunity which would have been gladly afforded them to ascertain all of the facts.

Before leaving the question of the purposes for which the debts were incurred, may I remind you that I have already had occasion to point out that the present value of these debt settlements at 5 per cent., a rate less than most of the debtor nations now have to pay for money, is, except in the case of Great Britain, either less than or approximately the same as the amounts borrowed after the Armistice?

France's after-war indebtedness with interest amounts to \$1,655,000,000; the Mellon-Bérenger settlement has a present value of \$1,680,000,000. Belgium's post-Armistice borrowings with interest were \$258,000,000, and the present value of the settlement is \$192,000,000. The post-Armistice indebtedness of Italy with interest is \$800,000,000 and the present value of its debt settlement is \$426,000,000.



Wide World Photos

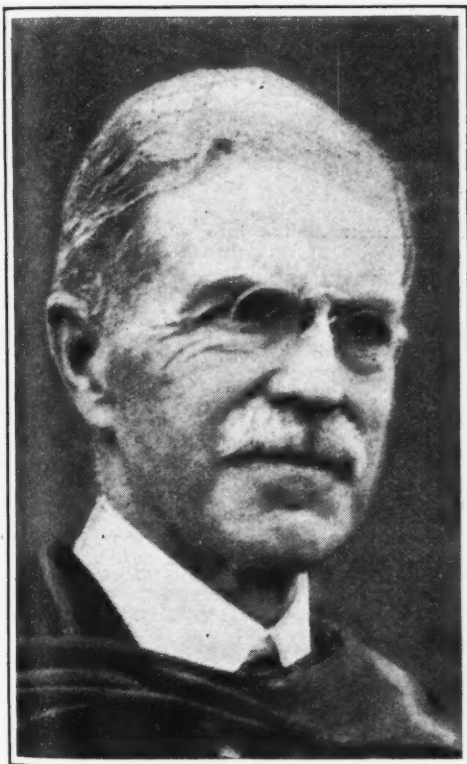
ANDREW W. MELLON,

Secretary of the Treasury of the United States

The principal of Serbia's post-Armistice indebtedness aggregates \$16,175,000 and the present value of its debt settlement is \$15,919,000. The loans to Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria and Rumania were all made after the Armistice.

The Columbia professors criticized capacity to pay as a formula difficult, if not impossible, of just application, a criticism, I understand you endorse. But no other formula is suggested. It is obvious that in the settlement of these huge debts, the burden of which must be borne either by foreign taxpayers or by our own, it was essential that the negotiations must be based on some guiding principle if justice was to be done between all parties; that is to say, not only as between creditor and debtor, but as between debtors. Frankly, I know of no fairer formula than that of capacity to pay generously applied. To ask a debtor nation to pay substantially less than it is able to without undue burden on its people is to do an injustice to our own taxpayers; while to ask a foreign debtor to pay more than its capacity is to be guilty of an act of injustice such as I can assure you cannot be charged against us.

Apparently you would have all debtors treated on an equality. Does this mean that the Italian settlement should be raised to a point where it will correspond to the British, which, of course, would impose a burden impossible of performance by Italy, or do you propose that the British be reduced to 50 per cent. and the Italian raised to 50 per cent.,



Wide World Photos

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN,

President of Princeton University

which would make an easy settlement for Great Britain and a still impossible settlement for Italy. Or do you propose that the British settlement shall be brought down to the Italian 2½ per cent., thus imposing no real burden on England at all?

You say that "we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries." Are you sure that this is an accurate statement of the facts? In estimating the debtor's capacity to pay without inflicting such a sacrifice as would cause a lowering of its standard of living, only incidental consideration was given to the reparation payments to be received by the debtor countries from Germany.

Now, the fact is that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States; and France and Italy, with the exception of this year in the case of the latter, are receiving from the same source more than enough to pay their debts to Great Britain also.

France, in the year 1926-1927, will receive from Germany approximately \$176,000,000. Under the agreements with Great Britain and with the United States, France will pay \$30,000,000 to us and some \$71,000,000 to Great Britain, leaving to France a balance of \$75,000,000. In 1927-1928 that balance will grow to \$108,000,000. In 1928-1929, in spite of the fact that the payment to Great Britain rises to \$85,000,000, the balance available to France will amount that year to \$186,000,000; and, in 1930, after meeting her obligations to the United States and to Great Britain, there will be a balance from reparation payments of \$237,000,000.

Italy is paying us this year \$5,000,000 and to Great Britain \$19,000,000. They will receive from Germany \$22,000,000, which is just \$2,000,000 less than is necessary to meet their obligations to Great Britain and the United States. But, in 1929, German reparations will have risen to \$45,000,000, leaving to Italy a balance, after her payments as debtor, of \$21,000,000. And even in 1930, when her payments to us will amount to \$16,000,000 and to Great Britain approximately \$20,000,000, those two amounts will still fall short by \$15,000,000 of the sum received from Germany.

Belgium this year will receive from Germany \$16,000,000 more than she will pay to other countries; in 1927-1928, \$18,000,000 more; in 1929-1930, \$27,000,000 more. Yugoslavia will receive this year \$11,000,000 more than they will have to pay, and next year \$13,000,000 more.

All of the other Powers that owe the money will, in the aggregate, receive this year \$3,000,000 less than they have to pay, but by 1929 will be receiving \$3,000,000 more than they have to pay.

Finally, we come to Great Britain. Under the agreements with France, Great Britain will receive from France approximately \$71,000,000 this year; from Italy approximately \$19,000,000; from Germany approximately \$72,000,000, and will pay us \$160,000,000, or in other words, Great Britain will receive this year from her debtors \$2,000,000 more than she pays us.

Next year Great Britain will receive from France \$69,000,000; from Italy \$19,000,000; from Germany \$87,000,000, or a total of \$175,000,000. Great Britain will pay us \$160,000,000, leaving a balance of \$15,000,000. In 1928-1929

Great Britain will receive from France \$85,000,000; from Italy \$19,000,000; from Germany \$127,000,000, or a total of \$231,000,000. Great Britain will pay us \$161,000,000, making a credit balance of \$70,000,000.

It is true that in the past two years Great Britain has received from Germany, France and Italy about \$100,000,000 less than she has paid to the United States, but it is equally true that from this year on Great Britain every year will receive from her debtors a substantial amount more than she will pay to us, so that her American payments will not constitute a drain upon her own economic resources.

It is true that Great Britain has agreed not to accept more from her debtors than the sums which, when added to reparation payments, will equal those which she pays the United States. But, even taking this into consideration, it is obvious that your statement that the debt agreements which we have made impose a tremendous burden of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries is not accurate, since the sums paid us will not come from taxation, but will be more than met by the payments to be exacted from Germany.

It must also be obvious that if the amounts to be paid by all our debtors are to be reduced and a corresponding reduction is to be made in the amount of reparations to be paid by Germany, the net effect of this change will be to transfer the burden of reparation payments from the shoulders of the German taxpayer to those of the American taxpayer.

Finally, the joint Faculties of Columbia and Princeton urge the American people to reconsider the debt schemes with allied countries "because of growing odium with which this country is coming to be regarded by our European associates." I doubt whether European nations dislike us as much as some people tell us they do.

But I know this, that if they do, the cancellation of that part of their debts which has not already been canceled will not of itself change their dislike into affection. Neither in international relations any more than in private life is affection a purchasable commodity, while my observation and reading of history lead me to conclude that a nation is hardly likely to deserve and maintain the respect of other nations by sacrificing its own just claims.

No one can insure the future; but given normal conditions, it is believed a true balance has been held between the duty of the Debt Commission to the American taxpayer and fairness toward those nations to which was extended aid during and after the war. The debts have not been canceled, but excessive demands have not been made.

Certainly, the debt settlements cannot become too heavy a load in the next few years. In the future, with peace and the development of trade internally and externally, it is not too much to expect that this will be equally true of the later years also.

The outstanding fact is that these debts have been settled. A fair trial can now be had, not on theory, but in practice, and a reopening of the whole question at the present time would do more to interrupt the steady progress achieved since settlement than might be gained from any ultimate minor adjustments that can be effected.

Very sincerely yours,

A. W. MELLON,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

# The Disarmament Negotiations

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

Librarian, Princeton University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

THAT hypothetical and frequently quoted individual, "the man on the street," can hardly be blamed if he finds himself utterly confused by the newspaper reports of the negotiations regarding disarmament. The highly technical character of many of the terms used in the discussion makes the issues difficult to understand; the conflict between the views expressed by the European Powers and those of the Anglo-American group seems to him to be absolute and incapable of any resolution. The statements made by the American delegation, based on conditions fairly well known to him, appear so reasonable that those of the Europeans seem captious and sophistical.

Two facts must be kept clearly in mind if the controversy is to be understood. Each country, because of its geographical or political position, has, or thinks it has—and in a contest of this kind it amounts to the same thing—certain potential dangers and needs for armament. We, for example, must protect the Canal, our island possessions and the Philippines. We need a well-developed navy, but only a small army. France must assure herself of uninterrupted communication with her African empire, and that she shall not be menaced by Germany or by Italy. She needs both a large army and an extensive fleet of submarines in the Mediterranean. Yugoslavia must guard herself against possible attack from any one of the nations surrounding her. Poland fears Germany on the west and Russia on the east. These are the facts that our geographical isolation makes it hard for us to realize, and we are apt, in consequence, to fail to appreciate the point of view of the European.

All the nations desire "in principle" some measure of disarmament, but they will not agree on any proposal that seems to give an advantage to a neighboring nation or to endanger their own security. They will play the game to the end, each hoping for some final advantage, but realizing that the time must come when, if we are to have a practical program, there must be compromise. Before that end is reached we must wade through oceans of talk, beaten by many blustering winds of doctrine. The so-

lution, when found, will be neither complete nor logical; but it is reasonable to hope that it will be an advance from our present anarchy. At present, at least, we have no right to accuse others, who disagree with us in detail, of any lack of sincerity or of devotion to the cause of ultimate disarmament.

The replies of France and of Italy to the invitation to join in a five-Power naval conference made impossible the plan for the isolation and determination of the naval problems. President Coolidge turned at once to the consideration of possible agreements that might be reached among Great Britain, Japan and the United States. Identical notes were sent on March 11 to the other two Powers expressing regret that France and Italy had declined to join in the proposed conference and a hope that they would, even yet, conclude to be represented in an informal manner. "These conversations," the note concludes, "could most advantageously and conveniently begin at Geneva on the first of June, or soon thereafter."

On March 14 Ambassador Herrick delivered to the French Government a memorandum (published in America on March 16), in reply to the French note of Feb. 15, in which it was argued that naval agreements among the large naval Powers would aid rather than hinder the task of the Geneva conference. It expressed the hope "that the French Government will see its way clear to be represented in some manner at these conversations in order that it may be fully cognizant of the course of the negotiations and of the agreements which may be reached." A similar note was dispatched to Italy. The French reply, issued on April 4, though not a direct refusal, stated that France must "defer" her ultimate decision to a later time. M. Briand is reported to have fought almost single-handed for a favorable decision.

The League on March 17 made public the text (printed at the end of this article) of the American comment on the report of the Joint Commission. The memorandum disagreed at almost every point with its findings. It opposed international su-





#### FRANCE AND DISARMAMENT

The two pacifists: "And to think that she does not want to disarm."

—Le Rire, Paris

pervision of the manufacture of poison gas and of armaments of any kind; the proposal to make training in the use of poison gas criminal; the suggestion that war budgets furnish a criterion for the comparison of armaments; their views regarding the relation between the natural resources and the scale of armaments; and finally their judgment in reference to the establishment of regional agreements. In England the memorandum was fairly well received, and with some of the opinions expressed the British Government is in agreement. The first reaction in France was one of profound discouragement, for it was felt that the results of the conference up to date had come to nothing and that it is impossible to find common ground.

The American proposals regarding the private manufacture of arms had a more favorable reception. At the meeting on March 14 Italy, and at first Japan, objected to the publication of the statistics of the production of governmental arsenals; but on March 16 Japan finally joined with Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, the United States and Yugoslavia in approving the report.

The Preparatory Conference reassembled

on March 21. At the opening session Lord Cecil introduced the draft of a convention the substance of which was an agreement that the contracting parties would limit their armaments, air, land and water, to a figure to be determined later, and not to increase them except in case of war, rebellion or emergency, or without the consent of the League Council. Notice of the increase would be given to the contracting States and a guarantee made to reduce the armament to its former figure as soon as the emergency had passed. It was provided that the treaty should become effective when signed by Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and America.

In the section dealing with the army, effectives were defined as troops which could, within a certain time, be available for dispatch to the front. The number of commissioned officers was not to exceed a ratio of one to fifteen, and of non-commissioned officers one to nine. The naval section provide<sup>d</sup> for the limitation of the tonnage of individual ships, as well as of the total tonnage in each class. Aircraft was to be controlled by a limitation of shore-based craft to service types maintained in commission as first-line combatant units.

At the next session Paul Boncour presented a similar draft representing the French point of view. He would enlarge the meaning of the term "effectives" to include all those in service with the armed



#### THE PATIENT PHOTOGRAPHER

—Editors Feature Service



military, naval and air forces, at home and abroad, as well as in the police, gendarmerie, customs guards and other organizations which could be employed without mobilization. No attempt is to be made to limit the number of reserves, except for the provision that the term of military service may not be increased. Air force is to be measured by total horsepower for planes and by cubic volume for airships. Any contracting State which considers itself menaced by the growth of civil aviation in a neighboring State may ask for an investigation. For the limitation of navies, total tonnage is the sole criterion. Armament budgets covering the entire life of the treaty are provided for, the total to be divided by the number of years during which the treaty is to be effective, and further to be classified by services. A permanent board, sitting at Geneva, composed of representatives of the League Council States, the United States and Russia, is to have supervisory and investigational power.

In his speech defending the draft M. Boncour abandoned the former French demand for limitation based on the potential power of States and laid down the principle that it must apply only to the regulation of peace-time armaments and not to reserves secured through conscription. Mobilization, he believed, could not at the present time be controlled. "Wars are for the League to stop," he declared, "and it is for the League to make mobilization unnecessary by prompt, authoritative action." Supervision he considered to be necessary,

and declared that, so far as France is concerned, she would not feel humiliated by investigations made by a body of which she is a part.

The Swedish delegate on the following day, March 24, suggested a way out of the naval impasse by the provision that the larger naval Powers might be limited by classes and the smaller by tonnage. This would permit France to build an unlimited number of submarines. Although Lord Cecil gave the idea his qualified approval, it seems incredible that it would be accepted by Great Britain.

At the session on March 26 the study of the two drafts was begun. Mr. Gibson, the head of the American delegation, although the only member of the commission of ambassadorial rank, was for several days unable to take part in the discussions because he had not been given plenipotentiary powers and was without instructions. Progress was necessarily slow. On March 28 Lord Cecil led a losing fight for the abolition of conscription. Holland, Sweden and Germany were the only States which gave him their support. Count von Bernsdorff made the point that it is the implication of the Versailles Treaty that the disarmament of Germany was a first step toward general disarmament. If that does not follow, Germany has the right to return to her former system. Naturally, this statement did not please the French, who insist on their thesis that security must precede disarmament rather than come as a consequence of it.

## Text of American Disarmament Memorandum

THE following is the full text of the memorandum which the United States Government handed to the Secretary General of the League of Nations at Geneva on March 10 and which was made public on March 21, 1927, setting forth observations on the report of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, which met again on March 21 for further discussion of the report:

The report of the Joint Commission represents, of course, merely the views of a group of individuals as to the economic effect of reduction and limitation of armaments, and conversely as to the influence of certain economic and financial factors upon the problem of reduction and limitation of armaments. The views of individuals on the Joint Commission are interesting, and represent a considerable amount of labor. However, the applicability of conclusions reached by the Joint Commission, and, indeed, the appropriateness of tak-

ing into account the economic factors suggested by the Joint Commission in approaching the concrete problem of reduction and limitation of armament are matters solely for consideration and decision, first, by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and, second, by the Governments represented thereon.

The American Government has noted that the subcommittee of the Preparatory Commission has been careful to reserve for all Governments represented on the Preparatory Commission the right to make any observations they may think fit, either in written documents or orally, in the course of discussions at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

The American Government desires to make the following remarks relative to subjects considered in the report of the Joint Commission, reserving the right to amplify those remarks before the Preparatory Commission:

### Section 1.

This section of the Joint Commission's re-

port contemplates supervision or regulation of certain essential national industries, and international agreements among such national industries looking to the divulgence of certain information, and the rationing of manufactures. There is also contemplated a system for the collection and publication of statistics of manufactures.

The American Government, as has been repeatedly stated by the American delegation at Geneva, does not view favorably any proposal partaking of the nature of international supervision of the administration of agreements limiting armaments. It believes the surest foundation upon which to construct such agreements is that of international good faith and respect for treaties. It believes that the introduction of the element of supervision and control is calculated to engender suspicion and ill-will, the disadvantages whereof would far outweigh any advantages to be derived from such supervision or control.

With regard to the specific suggestion of agreements between national industries, it may be pointed out that in the United States at least there might be grave legal and constitutional objections to an international agreement the effect of which was to compel American industries to enter into agreements with the industries of other countries.

It may be further pointed out that it is the practice of many countries, including the United States, to publish periodically statistics covering the production of various industries.

#### Section 2.

This section of the Joint Commission's report may be divided into two parts:

First, the advisability of the insertion in a general disarmament convention of provisions similar to those contained in the statute of the International Labor Office.

Second, the effect economically of inserting such provisions in a convention regarding prohibition of certain forms of warfare.

As regards the insertion of such provisions in a convention limiting armaments, it is noted that the Joint Commission recommends a comprehensive plan of procedure, providing for investigation of complaints by commission experts, and action upon the recommendation of that commission by the Council of the League of Nations. Quite aside from the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, and that consequently proposals calling for the submission of disputes to the Council for investigation and action would necessarily not concern it, the American Government desires to call particular attention to the declaration in which the American delegation at Geneva joined with the delegations of Chile, Italy and Japan in a report of the subcommittee on questions contained in Paragraph 2 of the report of the Preparatory Commission to the Council. Objections there set forth from the military point of view to a system of control similar to that contained in the statute of the International Labor organization would seem to be equally applicable from an economic viewpoint.

In regard to this general question, the American Government believes it appropriate to reiterate here the declaration which the American delegation at Geneva made jointly with delegations of the British Empire, Chile, Italy, Japan and Sweden with respect to the question of international control and supervision, the substance of which was as follows:

"Any supervision or control of armaments by

an international body is more calculated to foment ill-will and suspicion between States than to create a spirit of international confidence, which should be one of the more important results of any agreement for reduction and limitation of armaments. The execution of provisions of any convention for reduction and limitation of armaments must depend upon the good faith of nations to scrupulously carry out their treaty obligations."

With reference to the proposal for commissions of inquiry, &c., submitted by certain delegations, generally similar to the proposal of the Joint Commission, the six delegations above mentioned, made the following observations:

"First—The work of the proposed commission would be complicated in the highest degree. It should not only be regarded from a technical point of view (military and economic), but should also be regarded from the political point of view, since the primary criterion as to whether the armaments of a country are designed for defensive or offensive purposes lies in an appreciation of the political intentions of the Government interested. The commission in question would therefore be called upon carefully to take account not only of military and economic considerations but also of political considerations. In other words, the commission should be composed of quite exceptional representatives of each country, and if it were to do work effectively it should in fact be a kind of international General Staff.

"It would be extremely difficult for such a body to carry out its duties. It would be inevitably driven to encroach on the legitimate functions of those bodies which in all countries are entrusted by Governments with the duty of advising on measures to be taken to insure the safety of the State, and to place it in a position to fulfill its international obligations.

"It has been contended by others that the above use of the term 'international general staff' cannot really be applied to a commission of this sort; it was further contended that the power of such a commission would not differ appreciably from those of many existing commissions. The six delegations submitting this declaration do not share this opinion. They know of no body whose duties would be comparable to the duties of the commission proposed.

"Second—It would be very difficult for the proposed commission to arrive at unanimous reports. More often there would be two or more divergent opinions, a choice between which would have to be taken by appeal to the higher body. In any case, in order to insure supervision of the execution by a State of its obligations, the commission would be required to investigate further and to complete its information, and to invite that State to furnish observations and applications. This would require considerable time, during which the situation under examination might change.

"Third—If this organization were composed of all State signatories of the convention, it would be unduly numerous, and its procedure would therefore be very slow. If, on the other hand, it were composed of some only among these States, the difficulty would arise of settling which of the countries adhering to the convention should be represented on it.

"It has been contended by others that it cannot be claimed that the creation of supervisory organizations is impossible on material or practical grounds, since many precedents already exist. It is further contended that



## COOLIDGE'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

Woodrow Wilson's Ghost: "Had you better not go in there?"

—*De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam*

precedent could be found in the opium convention, and in the statute of the International Labor Organization. The six delegations submitting this declaration wish to point out that there is no analogy between opium and disarmament, and as to an extension of the statute of the International Labor Office to disarmament, this could not be invoked as precedent; on the contrary, Subcommittee A had been asked to examine whether an application of that statute was possible, or not.

"Fourth—It is very doubtful whether the method of procedure contemplated for the proposed commission can be in practice applied. Example will best explain its position. The commission receives reports which may possibly lead to a suggestion that in some country there are certain indications which might be considered to show that that country is not fulfilling its formal obligations or to show the growth of aggressive intentions against another country. What will be the position of the proposed commission? They will find themselves obliged at once to study questions which have not only technical but political aspects, and it is safe to assume that in many cases members of the commission will find themselves influenced by divergent political considerations. In a case that is 'clear,' these political considerations may be disregarded, but if, as is more probable, the position is a complicated one, then it is safe to say that these political considerations are bound to hamper impartial inquiry. In such a situation it is to be feared that divergent opinions will come to light, and the only way of removing them would be by verifying the situation on the spot. This means that proper application of the proposed method would frequently lead to inquiries on the spot. Delegations subscribing to this declaration consider that most

unfortunate results, both political and technical, would follow from these inquiries. It is impossible to disregard the possibility that in certain circumstances one country might bring a charge against another in order to obtain unjustifiable information about secret defensive organizations of the country accused. Moreover, delegations of the British Empire, Chile, the United States of America, Italy and Japan are entirely unable to accept for their own Governments anything in the nature of itinerant inquisitorial commissions.

"It was contended during deliberations on this question that the unfortunate results, both political and technical, mentioned above, which the six delegations submitting this declaration claim would follow from these inquiries, would in fact not exist, since inquiries of this kind have already been carried out to general satisfaction. Since obviously no such inquiries of this nature have ever been carried out in the past, it is difficult to understand how such a contention can be held.

"Fifth—Further, it may be pointed out that, if in fact it were decided to limit the task of the proposed commission to examining, comparing and drawing conclusions from a variety of information at their disposal, reports drawn up by the commission would give rise to further objections.

"From a technical point of view, any conclusion at which the commission might arrive without inquiry and direct control likely to affect secret military preparations of different States would be liable to be completely erroneous and misleading. The result might be that technical commissions would be writing reports impugning the good faith of nations without having at their disposal essential facts such as could only be gleaned from first hand study of a situation on the spot. And in gen-



eral, it is inconceivable that Governments can view without irritation requests for explanations which would be the result of insufficient data, and which might therefore be regarded according to the different circumstances of the case as vexatious, disingenuous or actually provocative.

"Sixth—The work so far carried out by Subcommittee A proves, in the opinion of delegations subscribing to the present declaration, that the only basis on which it is possible to hope for satisfactory and permanent results is the creation of an atmosphere of good faith. It cannot be denied, psychologically and from all experience, that the introduction of restrictions upon the sovereign rights of each State tends to militate against the creation of this atmosphere. It is common knowledge that in every country restrictions of all kinds are necessary, but these restrictions have only been imposed as the result of experience, and by the nation itself in exercise of its sovereign powers.

"The delegations of the British Empire, Chile, the United States, Italy, Japan and Sweden consider that restrictions of this nature should not be contemplated in international engagements except where absolutely necessary, and with the fullest consent and approval of the nations concerned.

"With regard to this entire declaration it developed during proceedings on this question in Subcommittee A that others contended that the authors of this declaration, in setting forth their observations, had stressed political and psychological arguments, and omitted technical arguments. The signatories to this declaration are of the opinion, on the contrary, that they have submitted both technical and political arguments, but in any case it will be for the Preparatory Commission to make this distinction if it sees fit."

In regard to the second part of the Joint Commission's answer to this question relative to the insertion in a convention, for prohibition of certain forms of warfare, of provisions similar to those in the charter of the International Labor Office, it is observed that recommendations of the Joint Commission confine themselves to the typical case of chemical warfare. It is further observed that these recommendations are conditioned upon agreements among national industries concerned. The American Government does not consider that such agreements are in any way germane to the question of limitation of national armaments. It is well known that a great majority of chemical products which may be utilized for military purposes in time of war are essential to the daily peacetime life of industry.

### Section 3.

This section of the report relates to questions concerning the convertibility of chemical factories for the manufacture of poison gas, and means for the hindering of their conversion to such use. Proposals to that end are made by the Joint Commission.

The views of the American Government as to the appropriateness of conclusion of industrial agreements among chemical industries have been stated above. With respect to the proposal that a State undertake to establish as a crime at common law any exercising or training by military persons or civilians in the use of poisons or bacteria, and particularly the exercising or training of air squadrons in their use, it is the opinion of the American Government that such a proposal is impracticable. In

this connection it may be pointed out that no nation could safely agree to refrain from preparations for defense against an attack by chemical warfare, regardless of the existence of international conventions prohibiting the use of such warfare.

In order to prepare against attack by such warfare, training in chemical matters is essential. To forbid absolutely training in the use of poisons and bacteria would in its broadest meaning put an end to chemical and medical research. Such a measure would be impossible to administer.

### Section 4.

This section deals with the possibility of using military expenditure as a criterion for comparison of armaments, and of effecting arms limitation by limitation of such expenditure.

Conclusions reached by the Joint Commission relative to the usefulness of taking into consideration military expenditures, in the comparison or limitation of armaments, serve to emphasize a point of view which has been expressed by the American delegation on the Preparatory Commission, namely, that military expenditure constitutes neither a real measure for comparison of armaments, nor an equitable basis for the limitation of armaments. The Joint Commission's report points out that certain groups of countries having similar military organizations, similar wage levels and standards of living, might profitably use expenditure as a standard for comparison of their armaments. The American Government does not doubt that it might be possible for certain countries to employ such a method of comparison profitably, as among themselves.

Without commenting in detail upon the conclusions reached by the Joint Commission on this subject, the American Government believes that the true relation of budgetary expenditure to a comparison of armaments is accurately stated in the declaration made by the delegations of Germany, Argentina, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States at a meeting of Subcommittee A of the Preparatory Commission, as follows:

"The delegations of Germany, Argentina, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States are of the opinion that while reduction in national expenditure on armaments is highly desirable, as one of the results to be attained by reduction and limitation of armaments, this result would automatically follow from any effective reduction and limitation of armaments.

"They are strongly of the opinion that monetary expenditure for the creation and maintenance of armaments does not afford either a true measure of armaments or a fair basis for the limitation of armaments. They hold this opinion for the following reasons:

"First—Direct and indirect costs of personnel under conscriptive and voluntary systems are so variable in different countries and in their overseas possessions, and are influenced by so many different factors, that these costs are practically impossible of simple and equitable conversion to a common basis.

"Second—Due also to differences in rates of pay, production costs, maintenance charges, costs of labor and material, varying standards of living, variations in rates of exchange and lack of uniformity in the preparation of bud-



gets, any attempt to apply this method of limitation would be unfair and inequitable.

"Third—The method of limitation of expenditure is an indirect method of obtaining limitation or reduction of armaments. All methods heretofore considered have been positive and direct. The application of an indirect method seems highly undesirable as a means of accomplishing what might be accomplished by direct methods.

"The above mentioned delegations maintain their opinion that, from a technical standpoint, armament can be effectively limited by direct methods.

"Fourth—While comparison without limitation is possible, obviously there can be no equitable limitation of expenditure by international agreement without a comparison. In other words, a comparison of expenditures is prerequisite to equitable limitation of expenditure. Therefore, since a comparison cannot be made between the budgets of different countries, as has been agreed upon in a study of standards of comparison, it will be impracticable to use budgetary methods in any formula for reduction and limitation of armaments.

"For these reasons the above delegations are firmly of the opinion that a method of limitation of armaments based upon the limitation of budgetary expenditure is impracticable, inequitable, and hence inadmissible.

"Since the mandate of the Preparatory Commission calls for a reply to this question only in case limitation of expenditure is considered practicable, and since in the opinion of the above-mentioned delegations the method seems inapplicable, it would appear that the reply to the question submitted should be that a limitation of expenditure is not a practicable method for limitation or reduction of armaments."

#### Section 5.

This section relates to a principle upon which it will be possible to draw up a scale of armaments permissible to various countries, taking into consideration the population, resources, geographical situation, length and nature of maritime communications, density and character of railways, &c.

The views of the American Government are in general accord with the reply to this question contained in the report of Subcommittee A, and it does not appear necessary to restate those views in this document. It may be observed, however, that conclusions reached by the Joint Commission in reply to this question indicate with a great degree of clearness that the only factor which can be applied with any accuracy is that of population, and that the application of this factor to the matter of limitation or reduction of armaments should be merely a basis for the determination of

maximum allowable amount of personnel in the armed forces.

#### Section 6.

This section deals with the influence of the material resources of a country on its war strength.

It is noted that the Joint Commission has approached the consideration of this question apparently with a view to pointing out those factors which it would be necessary to equalize, or compensate for, in order to allow the various countries of the world to wage war upon one another on a more or less equal footing.

The American Government does not desire to comment in detail upon the observations of the Joint Commission in this regard, since it will be readily admitted that in order to wage an effective war a country must have either within its own borders or accessible to it elsewhere the necessary supplies, raw materials, manufactured goods and financial resources. With respect to these materials, each country is faced with a separate problem, which in a general sense can never be solved by artificial international agreements. Those countries rich in raw material and industrial facilities cannot be deprived of the wealth, nor can countries poor in such wealth be provided with it except through the normal course of agricultural and industrial development.

#### Section 7.

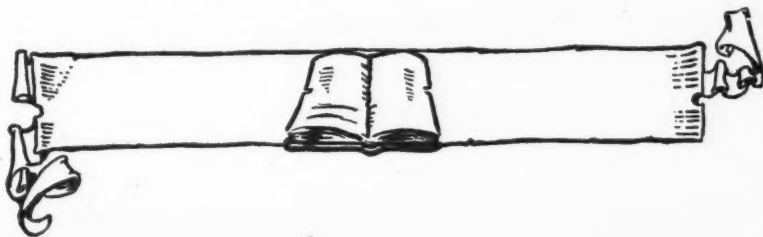
This section indicates certain elements of a country's wartime power which are, in the opinion of the Joint Commission, capable of being expressed in figures.

It may be pointed out in passing that the list of raw materials indicated by the Joint Commission as essential for waging war does not appear to be complete.

#### Section 8.

The final section of the report contains the Joint Commission's views relative to the possibility of considering areas or regions of the world as essentially self-supporting economically. This question was raised in connection with the consideration of the practicability of regional agreements for arms limitation.

The American Government believes that problems of land and air armaments are particularly susceptible of regional limitation agreements, quite regardless of whether regions covered by such agreements might be economically self-contained or not. While observations of economic experts on this subject are perhaps of interest, the practicability of regional agreements will be determined eventually by political conditions and by the decisions of Governments as to whether they wish to adopt a policy which promises an immediate limitation of land and air armaments.



# Political Trends After Close Of Congress

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

Lately Lecturer on American History, Yale University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

SINGULARLY little evidence has appeared during the past month of a continuance of the personal and partisan bitterness which marked the last days of the Sixty-ninth Congress. None of the dire political consequences which, it was predicted, would follow from President Coolidge's veto of the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill have shown themselves, and while the foreign policy of the Administration has evoked, in some quarters, both criticism and anxiety, the field of domestic politics has exhibited, in general, the quietness which usually marks, in "off" years, the long interval between the end of one Congress and the first session of another.

The appropriations voted at the last session of Congress for the fiscal year 1927-28, as announced by Representative William B. Madden, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, on March 13, aggregated \$4,211,201,270.41. This was less by \$7,563,621.20 than the budget estimates. The total did not include the approximately \$130,000,000 carried by the second deficiency bill which failed of passage at the last moment by reason of a filibuster in the Senate.

The principal items of appropriation included \$755,000,000 for interest on the public debt, \$563,629,560.93 for the sinking fund and other funds for the retirement of the debt, \$320,158,957 for the navy and \$282,118,885 for the army, or a total of \$602,277,842 for national defense; \$473,400,000 for the various activities of the Veterans' Bureau, \$222,740,000 for pensions for all wars except the World War, \$755,336,200 for the postal service, \$175,000,000 for the refunding of internal revenue taxes, \$76,144,600 for river and harbor improvements, the Panama and other canals, flood control, and the continuance of work at Muscle Shoals, Ala., \$78,900,000 for the construction of roads jointly with the States and for roads in forest reserves, \$12,290,000 for the Shipping Board and Merchant Fleet Corporation, \$35,000,000 for prohibition enforcement, and \$461,483,067.48 for all other purposes.

In a statement accompanying the announcement, Mr. Madden criticized adversely President Coolidge's suggestion of biennial instead of annual appropriations. The effect of such a change, it was urged, would be to relegate most matters of general legislation to the short session, since the consideration of appropriations for a two-year period would occupy a large part of the time of the long session. The short session, on the other hand, always follows an election, and "the important general legislative work of the Congress would be participated in by a large number of men who had just been designated for retirement to private life." Such a change in procedure, necessitating "a more hurried consideration of measures, both in committee and in the House, in order to get them far enough to the front not to be caught in any legislative jam near the close of the session," would not, in Mr. Madden's opinion, "be productive of the most beneficial legislation."

Representative Byrns of Tennessee, ranking Democratic member of the Appropriations Committee, seized the occasion afforded by Mr. Madden's announcement to challenge the claims of "Coolidge economy." According to Mr. Byrns, there had been an increase of \$239,922,720.25 in the appropriations since the fiscal year 1923-24, or of \$425,525,633.17 if account were taken of a reduction of \$185,602,912.92 in expenditures for debt reduction. "If there was economy this year," Mr. Byrns declared, "it was because Congress had cut the appropriations under the estimates."

The failure of the deficiency bill created an unprecedented situation for the Federal courts. In a circular letter to the United States marshals of the various Federal judicial districts, Attorney General Sargent called attention to the fact that certain appropriations for the Department of Justice, including those for salaries, fees, and expenses of marshals, fees of jurors and witnesses, support of Federal prisoners, pay of bailiffs, and other miscellaneous expenses

of the courts, had become insufficient for the remainder of the fiscal year, and that it would be "impossible to advance funds in the usual manner for the entire June quarter." As no overdrafts, the letter also stated, would be permitted under any appropriation for the fiscal year 1927-28, a drastic curtailment of ordinary judicial expenditures, involving the dismissal of certain officials, postponement of payments for a number of regular services, and the withholding of the salaries of district and circuit judges after June 30, became necessary. It was predicted that the lack of funds would interfere seriously with the work of the courts for the next three months.

On the other hand, the volume of receipts in March from income and other internal taxes, indicating a possibility that the reduction of the debt for the next fiscal year might amount to \$1,000,000,000 or more, revived discussion of the attitude of the Administration toward a reduction of taxes. Secretary Mellon, though conceding the possibility of a surplus of \$500,000,000 or over, declined to commit himself in regard to tax reduction, pointing out that although the surplus might enable the Treasury to achieve a substantial cut in the debt, a lowering of taxes must take account of the prospective revenues for the fiscal year 1928-29 as well as of those for the present year. The situation pointed to the renewal in December, or earlier if the Ways and Means Committee of the House should decide to hold public hearings preparatory to framing a tax bill, of the controversy between the advocates of rapid debt reduction and the champions of immediate relief which went on in the last Congress.

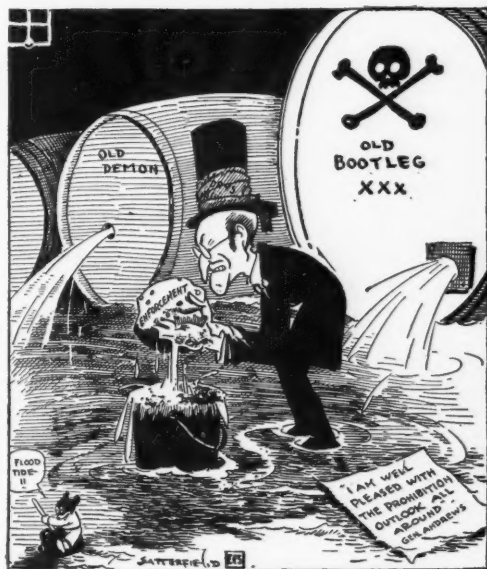
#### A NEW PROHIBITION POLICY

The principal change in Federal administrative procedure since the adjournment of Congress has been the reorganization of the prohibition enforcement service. Under a new law, passed at the last session and in effect on April 1, the prohibition service has been divorced from its former connection with the Bureau of Internal Revenue and placed under the direct control of the Secretary of the Treasury, the immediate administration of the service devolving upon a Prohibition Commissioner responsible to the Secretary and Assistant Secretary. An executive order explaining in detail the provisions of the new law and putting it into operation was issued by Secretary Mellon on March 19.

It was announced on March 22 that J. D.

Pennington, prohibition administrator at Pittsburgh, had been selected by Secretary Mellon for the new post of Commissioner. Two days later, however, the office of Acting Commissioner was bestowed upon Roy A. Haynes, whose activities as Commissioner under the old law were believed to have been considerably curtailed by General Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement. The designation of Mr. Haynes, who had the active support of the Anti-Saloon League, was denounced by the "wets" as another proof of the continued hold of the League upon the Coolidge Administration, although the reason for naming Mr. Haynes as "Acting" Commissioner was not divulged.

A number of steps apparently indicative of a change of policy, in addition to the administrative reorganization of the enforcement service, are also to be noted. The reorganization act requires, among other things, a civil service test for employees of the prohibition bureau, and a weeding out of field agents and others who could not meet the test was announced on March 18. An order abolishing, from April 1, the prohibition unit developed under Emory R. Buckner, United States District Attorney at New York, during the past two years, and numbering some thirty-six persons, was issued on March 24. With the disappearance of this unit, and the appointment of a



SPONGING UP WITH A VENGEANCE  
—Editors Feature Service

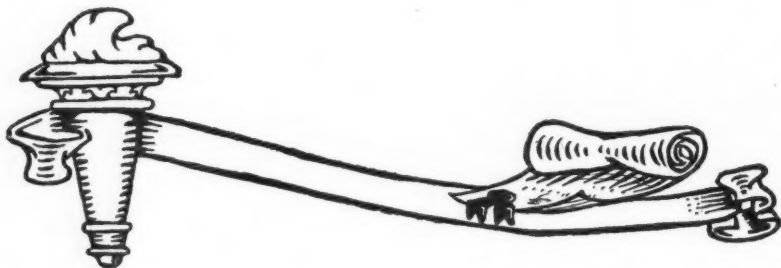
new District Attorney in place of Mr. Buckner, who resigned, went also the intimation that the practice of making spectacular raids on night clubs, cabarets, and so forth, wholesale padlock proceedings in the Federal courts, and similar methods of attempted enforcement would be dropped, the limited appropriation and reduced personnel apparently making it necessary to centre attention upon more important cases of violation. An order discontinuing proceedings in 298 padlock complaints in New York alone, some of which had been pending for several years, was approved by the United States District Court on March 18.

#### REPUBLICANS AND THE PRESIDENCY

No appreciable success appears to have attended the effort to create political capital against the Administration out of President Coolidge's veto of the Farm Relief bill. Reports of correspondents who toured a number of Western farming States indicated that, although the general agricultural outlook was not encouraging, the farmers showed no marked disposition to make their grievances a basis of political revolt. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Charles D. Hilles, was quoted as saying on March 22, after visiting twenty-four Western States, that although President Coolidge's action was "still resented and may lead to reprisals, the numerical strength of the forces that anathematized the President in consequence of his course was much less than had been anticipated," and that "certain dependable men" who "have made an examination and careful analysis" were "of opinion that the adverse political consequences of the veto have been very greatly exaggerated."

Signs of what appeared to be a concerted movement to bring Mr. Coolidge forward in 1928 as a candidate for the Presidency for a third term have multiplied since Congress adjourned. Senator Fess of Ohio, generally regarded as an accurate reflector of the views of the Administration, declared in an interview on March 15 that the people no longer looked upon a third term as dangerous or objectionable, that they regarded President Coolidge "as fitting into the problems of the day, conservative, and influencing economies and business expansions," and that "if the present situation continues," he would be nominated and elected. As for former Governor Lowden and the farm relief agitation, "no man," Senator Fess asserted, "can ride to power in the Republican Party on a wave of disaffection." Senator Fess's statement, which followed a long conversation with Mr. Coolidge about the political situation in this West, was widely commented upon as the first gun in the Coolidge campaign for the Presidency.

Whether the campaign, if such there be, is being directed by the President or by his party friends is a question to whose answer Mr. Coolidge himself has made no direct contribution. He has already made known his intention to spend his Summer vacation in the West, and in the meantime has been busy conferring with Republican leaders from various Western States. Experienced Washington observers have inclined to the opinion that he would make no formal announcement of a candidacy, but would allow the "continuance of the present situation" to which Senator Fess referred to develop a spontaneous, or at least an informal, call.





# Issues With Mexico and Nicaragua

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

THE month of March closed with the contents of the latest notes exchanged between the Governments of the United States and Mexico still a mystery. The Department of State on March 16 officially denied reports that the United States Government had served a virtual ultimatum on Mexico and stated first that its disputes with Mexico were in no more critical stage than had been indicated in the diplomatic notes made public in November, 1926, and, second, that the Government still hoped to adjust the difficulties by negotiation.

Mexican Ambassador Téllez returned to Washington on March 19 from a hurried trip to Mexico City, where he conferred with President Calles, presumably with reference to the disputes over the petroleum and alien land laws. Ambassador Téllez conferred with President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg on March 22, but the nature of the conference was not divulged.

The convention for prevention of the smuggling across the Mexican boundary of narcotics, intoxicating liquor, merchandise, and aliens, ratifications of which were exchanged on March 18, 1926, was terminated by President Coolidge on March 28, 1927. Under the terms of the convention it was to be effective for one year and indefinitely thereafter until either Government asked for its cancellation.

The convention, similar in many respects to one previously negotiated with Great Britain with respect to Canada, was generally understood to have been negotiated for the primary purpose of preventing liquor from reaching the United States from Mexico. However, while the treaty was being negotiated Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Lincoln C. Andrews stated that, contrary to belief, the smuggling of dutiable merchandise, arms, and ammunition into Mexico from the United States was then almost equal to the smuggling of liquor, narcotics, and aliens from Mexico into the United States.

It was reported from Washington on March 9 that the United States Government, while anxious to renew the convention on account of its provisions against

the smuggling of liquor and aliens, viewed, as a cause for possible embarrassment, other provisions of the convention. For example, should President Coolidge decide to raise the embargo on arms into Mexico, decreed early in 1924 for the purpose of enabling President Obregón to overcome the De la Huerta rebellion, and should the smuggling convention still be operative, the United States Government would still be bound to notify Mexico of every shipment of arms from this country, thus actually making the United States a party to preventing Mexican revolutionists from getting military supplies. Furthermore, should the smuggling convention still be operative, and should recognition of the Calles Government be withdrawn, the United States would still be obliged to notify that Government of shipments of arms from the United States into Mexico. The rather cautious and indefinite reasons given by the Department of State for the termination of the treaty follow:

The United States has no commercial treaty with Mexico and . . . in the circumstances it is not deemed advisable to continue in effect an arrangement which might in certain contingencies bind the United States to cooperation for the enforcement of laws or decrees relating to the importation of commodities of all sorts into another country with which the Government has no arrangement, by treaty or otherwise, safeguarding American commerce against possible discrimination.

The announcement of the termination of the convention was the occasion for much speculation. Ambassador Téllez told the Washington correspondent of *The New York Times* on March 22 that the act was of no significance. Senator Norris, however, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and an outspoken critic of the Administration's Mexican policy, declared that "the bars have been taken down; it means revolution in Mexico. This means permission to ship arms and munitions into Mexico without restrictions." Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was reported to be of the opinion that the Mexican people would construe the abrogation of the convention as an unfriendly act against the

Calles Government, although technically it could not be so construed.

#### AMERICAN PROPERTY SEIZURES IN MEXICO

The testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of W. S. Howell Jr., an expert on Mexican affairs in the Department of State, with reference to alleged seizures of lands held in Mexico by American citizens was made public on March 9. Mr. Howell stated that since 1914 American citizens in Mexico had suffered 662 property seizures—121 agrarian expropriations and trespasses "greatly in excess of 539"; that the Department of State had endeavored to obtain payments from Mexico for these seizures but had been unsuccessful. In this connection it is interesting to recall the following excerpt from Mexican Foreign Minister Pani's note to United States Charge Summerlin on March 31, 1923, with reference to indemnification for expropriated lands:

The present [Obregón] Administration succeeded in quelling such centers of rebellion and in re-establishing peace throughout the national territory, not so much by military force and bloodshed as by the quick application of the agrarian laws. Nobody doubts that, facing such dilemma, the adopted solution was the most humanitarian and economic one—in spite of the inevitable damage to individual national and foreign interests. . . . And in the face of the popular eagerness for lands, which was repressed for a long time, the noble enthusiasm of some *agraristas* and the intrigues of political agitators who found a favorable field to act, it was not possible, on many occasions, for the Government to keep within strict legality.

With reference to the dispute concerning the number of American petroleum companies that have accepted the new petroleum law Mr. Howell said that the contention of the Mexican Government that 380 companies had accepted the law did not appear to be correct, and that companies producing 75 per cent. of the oil and controlling 90 per cent. of the producing land had not accepted the law.

In *The Congressional Record* of March 10, Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts charged that the Mexican Embassy in Washington and the Mexican Consulate General in New York had

expended almost \$2,000,000 for the purpose of discrediting the President of the United States; that they have subsidized preachers and professors to attack the President of the United States; . . . and, in general, have done anything that the corrupt use of money would assist them in doing to spread falsehoods throughout the country in the hope of confusing public opinion, to the end that President Coolidge might be deterred from carrying out the identical policy initiated by Woodrow

Wilson in protection of the rights of American citizens.

The Gallivan charges provoked vigorous denials. Mexican Consul General Elias on March 11 stated that the charges against Mexican officials "are absolutely incorrect and misleading." Mr. Frank Tannenbaum, well-known magazine contributor, denied Representative Gallivan's charges that he was a draft dodger and a hireling of a "Mexican employer," noisily engaged "in attacking President Coolidge," demanded an apology, and threatened a libel action.

A hearty plea for sympathy for and tolerance toward Mexico was made by Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a public address at New Haven on March 20. With reference to Mexico's land policy, Senator Borah said:

I believe Mexico is acting in good faith. I have examined the laws of more than one country where the attempt has been made to break up large estates, and in none of these countries do the laws more thoroughly respect the vested rights of foreigners. For myself I do not fear to say that I sympathize with Mexico in her task. She may fail in this great national effort, but I do not propose to commit the crime of wishing her to fail. . . . God has made us neighbors—let justice make us friends. The first step toward justice is to stop making false and unfair statements about Mexico.

#### INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA

March closed with peace in Nicaragua apparently as remote as at any time since last November, the Liberal Mission which visited General Moncada having "failed to accomplish anything definite," according to the testimony of its members.

Two days after the mission returned to Managua the Department of State publicly reaffirmed the offer of the United States Government for the exercise of its good offices toward a settlement of the Nicaraguan problem, but the offer yielded no good results, and on March 14, after a week of military inactivity, the Liberals renewed operations and captured Acoyapa, in the Department of Chontales. The same day the Conservatives resumed operations in the vicinity of Muy Muy. Dispatches from Managua on March 15 stated that Conservative troops had fallen back after an eight-hour battle against the Liberal forces at Muy Muy, where 200 men were reported killed. Admiral Latimer, in command of United States naval forces in Nicaragua, advised the Navy Department on March 18 that the battle of Muy Muy had been "indecisive" and that another battle between Liberals and Conservatives was developing in the

neighborhood of Tierra Azul; sweeping Liberal victories were later announced by Dr. Vaca, the Liberal agent in Washington.

Announcement of the sale to the Díaz Government of 3,000 rifles, 200 machine guns, and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition, by the United States War Department, for a total price agreed upon of \$217,718 was made by the Department of State on March 23. For this sum the Díaz Government gave notes in the amount of \$5,000 each up to a total of the purchase price, these notes to mature monthly, beginning Jan. 31, 1929, and bearing 6 per cent. interest. The Department of State added that:

These munitions were sold under a contract dated Feb. 25, 1927, and have been shipped from the United States and are now in Nicaragua. They were represented by the Nicaraguan Government as being urgently needed to maintain law and order in the country and suppress revolutionary activities which not only threatened the constitutional Government of Nicaragua but also the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners.

It will be recalled that a similar transaction was entered into early in 1924 with the Obregón Government in Mexico after its recognition by this Government and during the De la Huerta revolution.

A loan project of \$1,000,000, said to have been submitted by the Guaranty Trust Company and J. & W. Seligman & Co. of New York, to be used solely for the "restoration of peace and order in Nicaragua," was approved at a special Cabinet meeting called by President Díaz on March 18.

Published reports that the Department of State in the latter part of 1926 had instructed United States Chargé d'Affaires Dennis at Managua to bring about the election of Adolfo Díaz were officially denied by Secretary Kellogg on March 14. Mr. Dennis, upon his arrival in Washington on March 21, also emphatically denied the rumors.

The proposal of President Díaz for a treaty of alliance between the United States and Nicaragua, whereby Nicaragua would become a protectorate of the United States, was received at the Department of State on March 16, it having already been indicated from various semi-official quarters that it was looked upon with disfavor by the Government.

Dr. T. S. Vaca, Liberal agent in Washington, addressed a note to the Department of State on March 22 in which he charged that Messrs. Brooks and Mason, two American aviators employed by the Conservatives, had "in one of their raids set on fire several blocks of buildings in the central part of the town, causing heavy loss

of national and private property, leaving homeless more than 80 families and killing many non-combatants." Responsibility for the fate of the aviators was declined by Dr. Vaca, in behalf of the Liberal Government, in case they should fall into the hands of Liberal revolutionaries.

W. H. Savigny, 66-year-old American Consul at Matagalpa, was assaulted by unknown men about 1 o'clock on the morning of March 3 while returning to his home, and was seriously injured.

#### CRITICISMS OF NICARAGUAN POLICY

Criticisms of the Administration's Nicaraguan policy were frequent during March. In an address at New Haven on March 20 Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, outlined events in Nicaragua by which "Chamorro and Díaz . . . drove the duly elected President and Vice President from the country," since which time, he said, "the conflict has gone on." This was criticized by Senator Borah as another instance in which the alleged fact that "Bolshevism is clutching at the throat of a small nation" is cited by one Government to justify armed intervention and another instance in which "it becomes necessary with the army and navy 'to assist a weak nation to maintain free government.'"

Another criticism was expressed by Dr. Albert H. Putney, Dean of the School of Political Sciences and Professor of Constitutional Law at the American University in Washington, when he asserted in an address on March 17 that the activities of United States marines in supporting the Díaz Government in Nicaragua constituted use of force which, under the Constitution, could be authorized only by Congress; and that the action violated the provision of The Hague Conference of 1907, prohibiting the use of armed forces in collecting contract debts.

A most scathing attack on the sale of war materials by the United States Government to the Díaz Government was made on March 24 by Senator Norris, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Norris said in part:

The action of the President and Secretary of State terminating the treaty with Mexico, and the later announcement that the Government of the United States is selling arms and munitions of war to the pretender Díaz in Nicaragua, is shocking to every peace-loving citizen in civilization. . . If the President and Secretary without consent of Congress can sell guns and munitions of war to be used by Díaz to keep him in power . . . there is no reason why they could not put a Czar on

the throne in Russia and sell him, on time, upon his promissory note, the cannons and guns now belonging to our Government.

From San José de Costa Rica it was reported on March 24 that the Costa Rican Congress had decided to petition all Central America to bring about peace in Nicaragua and an end to American "intervention."

With reference to the Díaz proposal for a treaty providing for an American pro-

tectorate over Nicaragua *The New York Times* on March 10 commented editorially as follows:

This whole proceeding had from the beginning too much the air of comic opera. President Díaz was "our man," kept in office only by American bayonets, and for him to come gayly forward and succeed in placing his distracted country under the protecting wings of the eagle would have been a sight to make international laughter hold both its sides. It is well for our Government to have stopped that farce before it went further.

## The Cost of Living in South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

LIVING costs in South America have risen very perceptibly during recent months, especially in Brazil. The native populations, using largely home products, are less affected than the upper classes and foreigners; rural areas suffer less than urban. The upper social strata and foreign residents in all the republics demand foods and manufactured products that must be imported. The purchasing power abroad then becomes more of a factor for such groups than for those who use only domestic products.

Rising costs of living in Brazil have within recent months created a national problem. A report prepared by the United States Trade Commissioner in Rio de Janeiro, issued by the Department of Commerce, shows the following prices for foodstuffs as of Oct. 6, 1926:

	Per Kilo (2.2 Lbs.)
Rice .....	\$.19
Sugar .....	.20
Lard .....	.59
Potatoes .....	.13
Beans .....	.11
Flour .....	.20
Butter .....	1.51
Bread .....	.13
Meat .....	.47
Coffee .....	.71
Fish .....	.60
	Per Liter (1.05 Qts.)
Milk .....	.14

During the World War the cost of living was less affected in Brazil, and in fact throughout South America, than in Europe or the United States. Prices rose slowly

after 1914, but since the armistice the cost of living in Brazil has risen until, as the above mentioned report states, "it is almost intolerable for a large part of the population." Brazilian statistics show that the average price increase for twenty-two articles of food from 1914 to 1924 was 142 per cent. In the two years since, prices have soared. The change is the more striking because Brazil has been comparatively a cheap country in which to live, and incomes, both money and real, are low. The Federal Food Administration, created to meet the crisis, has itself purchased and distributed at cost certain foodstuffs, exempted others from import duties, and set up street markets where dealers may conduct business with a minimum of expense.

Nor are the rising prices limited to foodstuffs. Clothing, rents, servants' wages, hotel rates, public utilities and professional fees are all mounting. Clothing prices in Brazil are especially high when one considers that the material used is of domestic manufacture and lacks the quality of the foreign product. A suit of clothes made to order by a first-class tailor now costs from 450 to 600 milreis (\$70 to \$85), domestic cashmere or gabardine being used. A suit of imported English cashmere or woolen would cost from 650 to 800 milreis. Shoes and hats of good quality are manufactured in Brazil. Selling at from \$8 to \$15, they are much cheaper than the imported product.

House rent is the largest item of expense in the budget of a city dweller. Few



apartments are available. Furnished houses, such as foreigners usually occupy, cost now from \$150 to \$225 per month; unfurnished houses from one-half to two-thirds as much. Every family, even of the middle class, must have at least one servant and usually two, since the social customs of the country do not permit the wife to do housework. A servant's wage has now risen from \$15 to \$25 a month in the larger cities and wages represent only a part of the cost. The food for servants, entirely different from that of the family, costs a considerable sum each month. Professional fees are high, especially in Rio de Janeiro. Reputable physicians charge \$4.50 for office calls and from \$7 to \$12 for house calls. Fees for dentists range from \$6 to \$12 an hour.

#### BRAZIL'S SERIOUS SITUATION

The present situation is becoming serious for the natives of Brazil, with the industrial difficulties now existing and the consequent shorter hours of labor and reduced income. For foreigners, who must live on a different and higher scale than the average Brazilian family, the situation has become grave. The majority of foreign firms operating in Brazil have now established a minimum exchange rate for paying their employees—in most cases nine milreis to the dollar, although for some time past the market rate has been between six and seven. The present high cost of living in Brazil has not resulted from any one cause alone. The policy of contracting the paper currency, wisely pursued by President Bernardes for some months past, and continued by his successor, President Luis, is perhaps the main cause of the present stringency. But inadequate transportation between farm and city, the migration of the farm laborer to the city, poor crops in 1924 and 1925, political disturbances continuing sporadically since July, 1924, and high import duties, are all contributory causes.

Argentina has experienced this same high cost of living for years; especially has it affected foreign residents and others who live in city houses and use imported products. As in Brazil, rents and clothing constitute the two largest items in the

household budgets. Unfurnished houses of four to six rooms (exclusive of the bathroom and servant's quarters) cost in Buenos Aires from \$100 to \$180 per month. Furnished apartments now rent for an additional \$40 to \$100. These rents are such as are paid by American residents there and do not supply luxurious or elaborate quarters in the best sections of the city. Leases are commonly required, the minimum period being usually two years. Electric and gas fixtures are not furnished with a house or apartment. They are bought by the entering tenant from the retiring one. Tenants pay a small initial fee for the installation of gas meter and gas stove and a monthly rental of from 50 cents to \$2 for the stove. Houses are heated during the Winter by wood, coal or kerosene. Ordinarily no provision is made in the house for storing fuel, it being bought at retail and in small quantities. Anthracite coal purchased in this way now costs \$30 to \$35 per ton. A conservative estimate for fuel for cooking and heating a four-room house, plus servant's room, for a family of three and one servant, would be \$35 a month during the Winter (May to September in Argentina) and \$25 a month for the Summer season. Prices for foodstuffs and household goods in Buenos Aires are nearer our own level. The cost of living in interior towns is now approximately 15 per cent. lower than in the capital.

Living costs are lower in Chile, Colombia and Venezuela than in Argentina and Brazil; in Peru, especially in Lima, expenses are almost as high as on the East Coast. In the other smaller republics, particularly in rural sections, living conditions are so different from those prevailing in American communities, and there are so few resident foreigners, that comparisons would be of little value. Everywhere in South America imported products are expensive.

Increase in prices in South America was negligible during the war. From 1920 to 1925 the cost of living rose materially. During recent months conditions in Brazil have caused the matter to assume the proportions of a question of national or even international importance.

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# Newfoundland Gains 100,000 Square Miles

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

IN London on March 1 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered a report which upheld the claim of Newfoundland to more than 100,000 square miles of territory on the North American mainland which the Province of Quebec and the Dominion of Canada declared had belonged to them for more than a century. The decision was a momentous one because of the great extent and growing value of the territory involved, because it settled a historic international dispute and because it furnished evidence that this judicial body may still be a satisfactory court for the adjudication of serious differences between the members of the new British Commonwealth of Nations.

The territory which had been in dispute stretches from the Straits of Belle Isle, which divide Newfoundland from the mainland, northwest to Cape Chidley at the entrance to Hudson Strait. This is a distance of approximately 700 miles, or about as far as from New York to Charleston. Canada conceded that Newfoundland had jurisdiction over the coast of this region. She interpreted the word "coast," however, to mean little more than the foreshore and herself laid claim to all the hinterland. Newfoundland declared that her legal control extended back to the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic, in some places a distance of 250 miles or more.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the sole value of the entire Labrador region was supposed to lie in its fisheries. The back country was practically uninhabited and was regarded as economically worthless. Neither Canada nor Newfoundland cared to press its claim to this bleak land of forest and barren plateau. The subsequent change of attitude toward the matter is a striking indication of the rapidly increasing value of the diminishing supply of raw natural resources available for world use. A considerable part of this great territory is covered with virgin spruce forest. Today spruce forest means wood pulp for newsprint; and there are single

papers in the United States whose daily editions consume scores of acres of Canadian trees. This practically unexplored hinterland is also believed to contain valuable mineral deposits and it is known that its numerous streams and rivers are capable of furnishing large quantities of hydroelectric power. With the turn of the century both Canada and Newfoundland became keenly aware of the future value of this vast territory to which both had been indifferent for a century or more.

The negotiations which finally resulted in the decision of the Privy Council began in the nineties. Newfoundland granted timber companies permits to operate in the peninsula at a considerable distance from the coast. The Province of Quebec refused to recognize the permits and forcibly prevented the woodsmen from felling timber. A long period of fruitless negotiation followed. Canada sought to buy the territory, but refused to pay Newfoundland's price, \$6,000,000 for the whole district, with reservation of Newfoundland's fishing rights, or \$3,000,000 for the hinterland alone. Finally, in 1926, the dispute was by common consent referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for settlement.

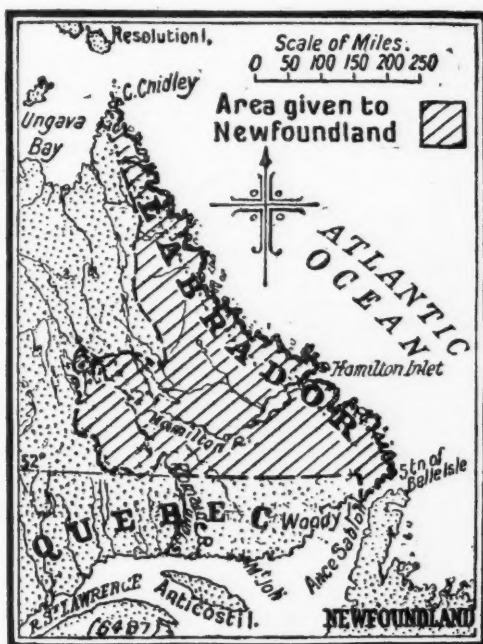
The jurisdiction of the Privy Council of the British Monarch over cases arising in British territory beyond the seas extends back to the reign of Henry VIII. In 1661 a committee of the Council was created for hearing such appeals. The present Judicial Committee, constituted in 1833, is the lineal descendant of this ancient tribunal. Its members are distinguished jurists, including representatives of India and other parts of the empire, and it has heard and decided many momentous appeal cases brought before it from every corner of the earth. The present case, however, did not go to the Judicial Committee on appeal from any court, for as an inter-Dominion dispute no court in British North America had any jurisdiction over it. The case was referred to the Judicial Committee by mutual agreement between the parties of interest. It is

this fact which gives the matter its great significance, as pointed out by the *London Times* in its leading editorial on the day following the publication of the decision:

The material result of yesterday's decision is very great, but it is far surpassed in importance by the moral consequences to the empire of the reference of this case to the Privy Council at all. That shows the readiness of two great self-governing members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to submit a question they both deem to be of very great concern to settlement by a judicial procedure which they severally carried out in the friendliest and fairest fashion. It shows also that when they wanted a tribunal to decide such a question with the fullest legal knowledge and the most complete impartiality, absolutely free from the slightest trace of national or political bias and bent wholly upon ascertaining and declaring the true legal answer to their inquiry, they naturally turned to the Judicial Committee. In so doing they 'have shown not only their confidence in British justice, but their instinctive sense of the unity which underlies our legal conceptions and the practice of our courts.'

In considering the effect of this decision upon the future usefulness of the Judicial Committee as a tribunal for the settlement of disputes between the self-governing members of the British Empire, emphasis should be placed upon the purely judicial manner in which it handled the case. The committee did not in any sense act as a court of arbitration, giving each party an acceptable portion of what it claimed. Rather, it acted as a court of law, deciding what, in law, was the meaning of the word "coast" in the Order in Council of March, 1763, and the Royal Commission of April of that year; and that it was these legal instruments which annexed Labrador to Newfoundland. The decision which was reached gave Newfoundland practically all that she claimed, and, according to the Canadian press, much more than she expected to receive. The result, therefore, was no compromise. The decision was a legal and not a political one and should tend further to entrench the Judicial Committee as a court to which the several Dominions of the empire may repair for the fair and fearless decision of legal questions.

The report of the committee concluded that the boundary was "a line drawn due north from the eastern boundary of the bay or harbor of Ane (Blanc) Sablon as far as the fifty-second degree of north latitude, and from thence westward along that parallel until it reaches the Romaine River, and then northward along the left bank of



From the *London Times*

Map of Labrador, showing the territory given to Newfoundland by the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

that river and its headwaters to their source, and from thence due north to the crest of the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean until it reaches Cape Chidley."

The decision of the committee was received with rejoicing in Newfoundland and keen disappointment in Quebec. Nowhere, however, was its justice questioned. The *Toronto Mail and Empire* seemed to have reflected the prevailing Canadian sentiment when, in commenting on the outcome of the case, it declared that "No other court in the world is so competent to decide controversies arising between States within an empire," and added: "While Canada loses, the debatable territory will probably gain by being brought under the unchallenged jurisdiction of an owner. \* \* \* We hope that the Newfoundland Government will have the area properly explored and will apply to it a policy of development that will make it a great source of wealth production. In the meantime, Canada should once more turn its attention to the old question of bringing Newfoundland into the union."

# New Legislative Proposals in France

By CARL BECKER

Professor of History, Cornell University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

IN France no marked change occurred in the political situation during the month of March. The Premier announced on March 15 that the Government had at the Bank of France a credit balance of 7,500,000,000 francs. Although imports increased relatively during the last part of the month, the adverse balance of imports over exports was less than for the same time last year. Although there was no great revival of business activity and the number of unemployed increased slightly, the money market was a little easier, and in certain industries, notably the textiles, orders for goods appeared to be increasing. From the industrial point of view the most notable event of the month was the proposed new tariff on American imports. The bill, which was laid before the Customs Commission of the Chamber on March 3, called for heavy, even prohibitive, duties on imported American products, especially machinery and enameled wares, valued at 2,000,000,000 francs. Some opposition appeared on the ground that the law would increase the cost of living.

The international debt question was brought to the front again by the decision of the Government, mentioned last month, to make an initial payment of £6,000,000 on the British debt and of \$10,000,000 on the American debt. Although the action cannot be said to have weakened the Ministry, it aroused serious criticism, which took two forms. Assuming that the debt was to be paid, the Premier was criticised for "a usurpation of parliamentary prerogatives." On the other hand, it was once more made clear that there is in France a very great objection to the payment of the debts in any form. This objection was voiced by the Nationalists of the Right, and even more decisively by the extreme Left groups. "We repudiate even in principle," declared *L'Humanité*, "the idea that workers in field and factory must submit for sixty-two years to a levy of 278,000,000,000 francs, demanded against all right, even against all honesty, by the capitalistic classes in Great Britain and the United States. \* \* \* Translate this into working days! At 20 francs per day from the average Frenchman's salary he would have to sacrifice to pay the Anglo-Saxon debt 13,900,000,000

days." The *Soir* claimed that the action of the Premier uselessly revived a question already settled. "The question of the debts has disappeared from the horizon. Ratification of the Churchill and Mellon agreements has become a myth." On March 8 the Government was formally asked to lay the British agreement before the Chamber for early discussion. The Premier defended his action in a long speech, and asked the Chamber to deny the request. The Government was sustained by a vote of 339 to 175, the minority vote coming chiefly from the Socialists, the Communists and the left wing of the Radical-Socialists. The effect of the vote was to postpone the debt question indefinitely, and the general opinion was that no ratification could be expected before the Spring elections of 1928 at the earliest.

In respect to the monetary question, the Premier once more took occasion, during the Senate debate on the supplementary credit bill, to announce that no precise indication could be given as to the time, the rate, or the method of legal stabilization. In addition he stated, more precisely than he has hitherto done, that it would be necessary to maintain the franc at its present level for a prolonged period. The statement was taken to mean that it would not be part of the Government's policy to push the franc to a still higher level after business became adjusted to the present level. In banking circles some apprehension was created by the constant demand upon the Bank of France for foreign exchange, the result of which might be that the Government would be unable to maintain the franc at the present rate. But the general opinion was that in view of the large credit balance of the Government at the Bank, no serious difficulties would arise on that score. The Premier himself, perceiving the importance of such a balance, took occasion to warn the Chambers that it was absolutely essential to maintain the income and to restrict the expenditures of the Government.

Aside from the immediate political situation, yet closely connected with it, public interest centred chiefly in two measures proposed by the Government. These were the bill for electoral reform and the bill



for the mobilization of the nation in time of war.

Since 1875 the method of electing Deputies to the Chamber has alternated between the *scrutin de liste* (general ticket) and the *scrutin d'arrondissement* (individual ticket). The present method is by *scrutin de liste*, necessarily so since it provides also for proportional representation. On March 10 the Government presented to the Chamber a new bill, which was referred to the Electoral Commission of the Chamber. The new bill proposed to abolish the general ticket and return to the individual ticket, thus involving the abolition of proportional representation. The proposal contemplates the division of the country into 587 electoral districts, each district having approximately 100,000 inhabitants. In each district each party would be permitted to present its own candidate, the candidate having a clear majority being declared elected. In case no candidate should have a clear majority a second ballot would be held within eight days. When the bill was laid before the Chamber only the Left groups applauded, the Right remaining silent. Even the Ministry was not unanimously in favor of the bill, since M. Louis Marin, former leader of the Nationalist group, expressed himself as approving the new project only with certain reservations. The objections to the present system, directed against the scheme of proportional representation rather than against the method of the general ticket, were briefly stated by M. Sarraut in laying the new bill before the Chamber. They were: That the present system permits the election of candidates who have received less votes than certain candidates not elected; the active and not too scrupulous collusion between candidates; the immorality of the manoeuvres made possible by the "*panachage*" [voting for candidates selected from several lists]; the excessive influence of local committees. Many who approve of proportional representation in principle wish to abolish the present system. M. Charles Benoist, an ardent supporter of the principle of proportional representation, succinctly stated his objection to the method now prevailing as follows: "The system of majority election is a system; proportional representation is a system. A mixture of the two (precisely what the present system is) is no system."

Of even greater interest was the bill presented to the Chamber on March 3, designed to effect a complete mobilization of the nation, in men and resources, in time of war. According to the terms of the bill,

from the day on which war is declared every French citizen, man, woman and child, will be automatically incorporated into the national defense forces, and thereby be placed at the disposal of the Government to serve in whatever capacity is judged most effective. Likewise the Government is given authority to take over, by decree, all railways, factories, mines, electrical plants and other industries, and also all inventions useful for the conduct of war, without compensation to the owners or directors. The bill is similar to the one already prepared in Belgium, and is designed not only to increase the efficiency of the nation in wartime, but to prevent, so far as possible, the inevitable injustice which arises from private profiteering.

To give the Government such powers is one thing, to make an effective use of such powers is quite another. The Government accordingly stated that, in case the bill was passed, each Ministry would be expected to prepare, in peace time, complete plans for the immediate mobilization of all the resources under its control. Thus the Minister of Public Works would have always ready detailed plans for the transport of men and supplies, the Minister of Agriculture would prepare detailed estimates of supplies available, the Minister of Commerce would prepare plans for the impor-



THE PROFITEERS

Revolution: "See, children, unemployment is increasing. Now is the time for us to set to work."

—Le Rire, Paris

tation of essential commodities from abroad, and so forth.

The bill met with very little opposition. The Communists cried "Down with war!" and declared that the only effect of the measure would be to subject the entire nation to the capitalistic interests. The Socialists were favorable. M. Renaudel said: "It is not enough to denounce war. \* \* \* We must also provide means to prevent it. For that reason the Socialist Party wishes to organize for international peace and at

the same time for national defense." M. Paul Boncour, an advocate of international disarmament, approved of the bill as "giving greater security than in the past with less risk of war." On March 7 the bill was approved in the Chamber by the overwhelming majority of 500 to 32. The tenor of the debates seemed to indicate that the strong support which the bill received was due, in part at least, to a general, if vague, apprehension of possible danger from Germany and Italy.

## Germany's Approval of Stresemann's Peace Policy

By HARRY J. CARMAN

Associate Professor of History, Columbia University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

THE return of Dr. Stresemann, German Foreign Minister, from the March meeting of the League of Nations was the signal for a bitter onslaught by Nationalists. Led by Alfred Hugenburg, who, because of his extensive newspaper holdings, is known as the German Northcliffe, the extremists of the party charged that Dr. Stresemann had, by his League performance, added to his country's disgrace. The particular issue upon which they asserted the Foreign Minister had grievously failed centred around a proposal by the Saar Governing Commission that an inter-allied force of 800 men should be stationed in the Saar for the purpose of ensuring freedom of transit. When the question came up for debate in the Council the German envoy quickly demolished the legal foundation on which the proposal rested. Operating on the assumption, however, that more was to be gained in the long run by acceding in part at least to the wishes of the commission, Stresemann proposed a compromise. The arrangement, as finally adopted by unanimous vote of the Council, provided for the establishment within three months of a maximum railway defense force of 800 men, whereupon the 2,000 French soldiers now occupying the Saar shall be withdrawn. Inasmuch as the new force will be composed mainly of French soldiers, French military occupation of the Saar will, for the time being, be per-

petuated, though in reduced form. Stresemann's failure either to secure a smaller defense force for the Saar or to put up a more strenuous fight for Germany's legal rights roused the anger of the Nationalists, who, through their press organs, were especially condemnatory. The *Lokal Anzeiger*, for example, after taking the Foreign Minister bitterly to task, asked editorially how long he could continue to hold office and return from international conferences empty-handed. Indeed, for a time it seemed that the barrage of criticism might lead to a Cabinet crisis, for in Nationalist circles it was freely predicted that Stresemann would have to quit. Whatever hopes or fears might have been entertained regarding such an eventuality were, however, dispelled when, at a Cabinet meeting held March 15 the Foreign Minister gave a detailed exposition of Germany's present position in international politics. At the outset he emphasized the relative importance of the Saar Defense Force settlement in the general scheme of things. Any attitude other than one of extreme conciliation, he maintained, would have seriously impeded the negotiations with France for evacuation of the Rhineland. Nothing could have been more foolish, he declared, than for him to have refused to make concessions. After listening for almost three hours the Cabinet unanimously approved the Geneva compromise. The Cabinet session was preceded by

a secret conference of Count Westarp and other Nationalist party leaders, including the four Nationalist representatives in the Ministry. At the conference it was apparently decided that the party could ill afford to risk the destruction of the Government coalition at this time for the sake of disavowing a minor question.

The Foreign Minister further strengthened his position when in a long speech before the Reichstag on March 22 he outlined his foreign policy and the progress Germany had made during the past year. Germany, as contrasted with other nations, was, he said, in an especially enviable position. The Reich, he asserted, should maintain the strictest neutrality in all international disputes and in so far as possible keep out of trouble. As far as the Saar and the Rhineland were concerned, Germany, he declared, should pursue a policy of watchful waiting.

Throughout his speech Stresemann took frequent occasion to compliment the Socialists and Democrats, to chide the Nationalists gently, and to reprimand the Communists. At the completion of the debate, which was one-sided except for an abortive Communist "no-confidence" motion, the foreign policy of the Government was approved by the remainder of the parties. This was the first time since the birth of the Republic that a Foreign Minister had received such a large majority.

To what extent the domestic situation influenced the Nationalists in not desiring a Cabinet crisis at this time is problematical. The fact that industrially Germany is on the up-grade may, however, have had some weight. Germany's merchant marine, for example, which admirably reflects the extent of her industrial recovery, has grown from 600,000 tons, the amount remaining

after the conditions of the Versailles treaty had been satisfied, to 3,200,000 tons. Although this is still 2,000,000 tons under the pre-war strength, this tonnage, according to Lloyd's places the Reich sixth in the world's shipping list.

According to ex-Chancellor Cuno, German ships are now carrying only 9.2 per cent. of the world's maritime trade, compared to 12 per cent. in 1914. Forty per cent. of her present tonnage, however, consists of bottoms less than five years old, which, according to statistics, are the only ones now operated at a profit. Speaking before the fourteenth annual session of the German Shipping Convention on March 14, Dr. Cuno pointed out that actual tonnage was not a criterion by which to judge a fleet, since only the newer ships with the latest improvements in the matter of propulsion, seaworthiness, speed, freight capacity and loading and discharging facilities show a greater intake of revenues than expenses, while expensive craft, though only half a dozen years old, must be subsidized if it is desired to keep them in service. For this reason the German fleet, though only half a dozen years old, must be subsidized if it is desired to



GUSTAV STRESEMAN,  
The German Foreign Minister

keep it in service. For this reason the German fleet, though relatively small, has the greatest profit-earning power of any nation's merchant marine. German shipping companies have an extensive building program laid out, he added. During the last six months there has been great progress to this end, the Government having advanced the shipbuilding yards 50,000,000 marks at a low rate of interest, in order to make completion of the proposed building program possible. The increase in the capitalization of the Hamburg-American line by 30,000,000 marks also is indicative of the growth of the German shipping industry.



# The Italo-Albanian Treaty

By ELOISE ELLERY

Professor of History, Vassar College; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

**R**ELATIONS between Italy and Yugoslavia, which have been strained since the signing of the Treaty of Tirana last November, reached a crisis during the month of March. The terms of this treaty are as follows:

## PACT OF FRIENDSHIP AND SECURITY BETWEEN ALBANIA AND ITALY.

**Article 1**—Albania and Italy recognize that any disturbance whatsoever directed against the political, juridical and territorial status quo of Albania is contrary to their reciprocal interests.

**Article 2**—For the protection of the above mentioned interests the high contracting parties pledge themselves to lend their mutual support and their cordial cooperation; they

pledge themselves equally not to conclude with other Powers political and military agreements to the prejudice of the interests of the other party as defined in the present pact.

**Article 3**—The high contracting parties pledge themselves to submit to a special procedure of conciliation or arbitration matters of difference that may arise which it shall not have been possible to adjust by ordinary diplomatic procedure. The form of this procedure of peaceful regulation shall be the subject of a special convention which shall be concluded within a short time.

**Article 4**—The present pact is for a period of five years and can be denounced or renewed one year before its expiration.

**Article 5**—The present pact will be ratified and subsequently registered with the League of Nations. Ratifications will be exchanged in Rome.

Done at Tirana, Nov. 27, 1926.

According to these provisions Italy may intervene with military force whenever any attempt is made from within or without to overthrow the Government of Albania. Even before the conclusion of the treaty Italy had secured a first lien on Albanian customs and national monopolies as security for a loan of some 50,000,000 gold lire to be spent under Italian supervision by an Italian corporation. Such penetration, whether peaceful or otherwise, is looked upon with some apprehension by critics of Italy and especially by Yugoslavia, since control by Italy of Albania would give Italy control of both sides of the Straits of Otranto and enable her to bottle up the Adriatic and thus seriously cripple Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile Italy took alarm at the alleged aggressive action of Yugoslavia. According to a dispatch from an Italian correspondent printed in the *Giornale d'Italia* on March 18, Yugoslavia was making extensive military preparations especially near the Albanian frontier, propaganda was being carried on in the interest of another war and railway communications with the Albanian and Italian frontiers were being increased to an extent quite unwarranted by any reasonable peace-time needs. The same newspaper further alleged that France was inciting Yugoslavia to such measures with the intention of creating trouble for Italy. In this situation Premier Mussolini protested to the Bel-

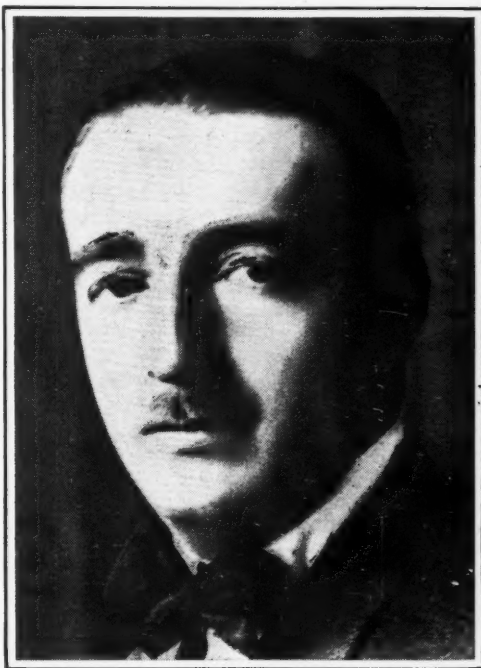


Map of Albania



grade Government, declaring that in the event of any aggressive action toward Albania Italy could not remain neutral and at the same time presented the Italian view of the case to the other European Governments. Yugoslavia's answer was a denial of aggressive intentions toward Albania, the threat of an appeal to the League of Nations, reported to have come from Yugoslavia, was dropped, while France, England and Germany are understood to have counseled moderation. Speaking before the Chamber of Deputies March 22, M. Briand declared that "Europe, though still exposed to them, is not now so much at the mercy of incidents as was the case some years ago. All nations, big and little, are now eager and ready to help stamp out any beginnings of the flame of war which may appear among them."

The Italian press meanwhile also assumed a calmer tone, assuring the public that there never had been any real controversy and that Mussolini had merely wished to call attention to the situation in Yugoslavia. The incident—whether it is called a controversy or not—is regarded in official circles as a real diplomatic victory for Mussolini over Yugoslavia's efforts to reopen the Albanian question. The aftermath, as far as the other Governments were concerned, was a proposal on the part of the great Powers of a commission to investigate the Italian charges and a suggestion of a conference between Yugoslavia and Italy to consider a joint guarantee of Albanian independence.



Wide World Photos

AHMED ZOGU,

The first President of the Albanian Republic

The fact remains, nevertheless, that feeling in Yugoslavia over the extension of Italian influence in Albania still runs high, and that the situation resulting has dangerous possibilities. Yugoslavia feels that the whole policy of Italy in the Balkans, involving the conclusion of special treaties of friendship with a number of the nations that are the near neighbors of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, tends toward the political isolation of the Slav State; and undoubtedly the prospect of an Italianized Albania at its very door holds no charms for the leaders of the Belgrade Government.

Italy's influence in the Balkans was further extended by the ratification by Italy of the Rumanian annexation of Bessarabia. This ratification was interpreted in some quarters as an evidence of a rapprochement between Italy and Great Britain and an indication of their common hostility to Russia, while at the same time it evoked a violent protest from Moscow. The *Giornale d'Italia*, on the other hand, contended that it was only a further step in the growing friendship of Italy for Rumania and must not be regarded by the Soviet as a hostile act.



Danger of an explosion  
—The Chicago Tribune.

# Italy's Ratification of Treaty on Bessarabia

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

THE two principal foci of international interest in Southeastern Europe during the period under review have been Albania and Bessarabia. In the one case a tense situation was produced by the alleged military preparations of Yugoslavia in protest against the Tirana treaty of last December. In the other an important post-war territorial readjustment, which for years has rested on only a conditional basis, took a long-awaited step toward becoming legally definitive. It is significant that in both situations the *deus ex machina* was Italy.

The crisis centring in Italo-Yugoslav differences over Albania is treated elsewhere in this number. Here attention will be directed to the Italo-Russian dispute growing out of the ratification at Rome, on March 8, of the Treaty of 1920 between Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, recognizing the union of Bessarabia with Rumania. At the least, this act constitutes another significant step in the building of Premier Mussolini's Balkan policy; quite possibly it betokens a fresh orientation of Western European attitudes toward the Soviet Government.

Bessarabia, the wedge-shaped region sloping down to the Black Sea between the rivers Dneister and Pruth, was a bone of contention between Russia and Rumania long before the late war. Becoming definitely Russian territory in 1812, the area none the less acquired a predominantly Rumanian population—70 per cent. Rumanian (so the Rumanians asserted) by the close of the century, although a Russian census of 1897 allowed only 47.6 per cent. The Russian revolution of 1905-06 stirred Rumanian nationalistic agitation in the region, which was kept up, without visible results, until 1917, when the whole question of the country's future was brought suddenly to the fore by the establishment of the Bolshevik régime at Moscow.

The first idea of the Bessarabian leaders in this juncture seems to have been co-operation as an autonomous State in a Russian federative republic; but the attempt

of the Ukraine to absorb the territory led to a proclamation of autonomy by a specially convened Bessarabian congress in October, 1917, followed, in March, 1918, by a vote of the Sfatul Tsarei, or Supreme Council, for union, as an autonomous province, with Rumania. Later in the last mentioned year the stipulated condition of provincial autonomy was repealed.

In March, 1920, the Supreme Council (of Greater Powers), sitting at Paris, informed the Rumanian Government that, "after taking into full consideration the general aspirations of the populations of Bessarabia and the Moldavian character of that region from the geographical and ethnographical points of view," it was favorable to the union of Bessarabia with Rumania and was prepared, as soon as certain conditions should have been met, to conclude a treaty to this end. The treaty was duly signed at Paris on Oct. 28, 1920, amid heated protests from the Soviet Government, which forcefully declared that since it had not been consulted it would recognize none of the provisions. There were four parties to the agreement—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Of these, Great Britain ratified in 1922 and France in 1924; Italy ratified only a few weeks ago and Japan has taken no action. Meanwhile, of course, Bessarabia has been administered—though none too well, if the truth be told—as an integral part of Rumania; for, after all, the four-power treaty was designed merely to give international assent or sanction to an arrangement already actually effected.

Meanwhile, the Bessarabian question has continued to be an active source of trouble between Rumania and the Soviet Government, and several attempts have been made by the Bucharest Government to come to an understanding with Moscow by direct negotiation. A conference at Vienna in the Spring of 1924 failed because of Rumania's unwillingness to allow the question to be settled on the basis of a plebiscite, as demanded by the Soviet representatives;

whereupon Moscow retaliated by setting up an autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic immediately across the Dniester from Bessarabia. All efforts to adjust matters by agreement between the contenders themselves collapsed, and the Russian unwillingness to see the disputed territory become permanently a part of the Rumanian Kingdom remains exactly what it was.

Japan, doubtless because she sees no particular reason for antagonizing Russia on a matter which is of no great moment to the Japanese, has not ratified the 1920 treaty. Until recently, Italy also held off, but not for any lack of interest in the subject. The considerations and motives that led Premier Mussolini's Government, first to delay so long, and then finally to ratify, are now among the principal topics of speculation in a dozen European chancelleries.

Some, at all events, of the reasons for postponement are fairly clear. In the first place, Italy was among the first of European States to make friends with the Soviet Government. She signed a preliminary trade agreement in December, 1921, half a year after the British, half a year before the Germans at Rapallo. In the second place, a long series of *pourparlers* gradually led up to the Treaty and Customs Convention of March 7, 1924, in which Italy fully recognized the Soviet Government at almost the same time as did Great Britain; and, naturally, there was no desire to jeopardize these negotiations while they were in progress.

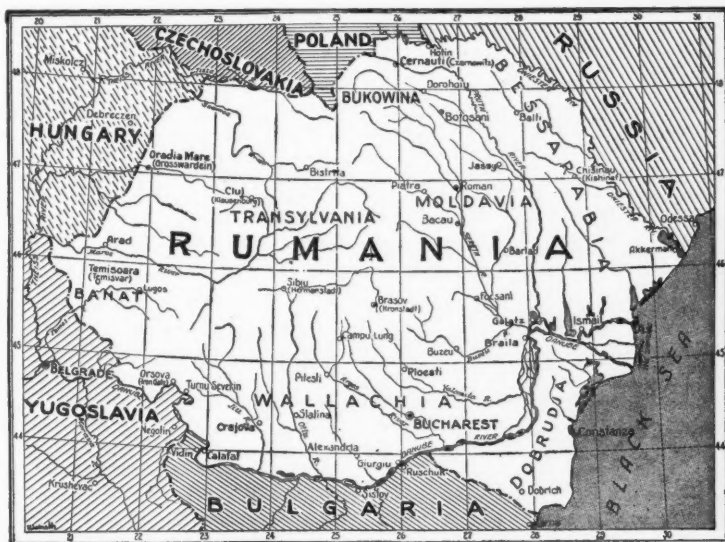
Even after these agreements were consummated, the Chigi Palace may have been deterred by the warnings sounded in 1925 by M. Rakovsky, Soviet Ambassador in Paris, to the effect that ratification by Italy might well lead to such a reprisal as the negotiation by Moscow of a treaty with Greece or Turkey recognizing the rights of one of these States to the Dodecanese Islands. Officially, the explanation is that Italy did not wish to ratify until she had ex-

hausted every possibility of inducing the Soviet Government spontaneously to recognize the union of Bessarabia to Rumania.

As to the reasons why Italy has finally acted, it is only fair to note, first of all, the assertion of Senator Scialoja, Italian representative in the Council of the League of Nations, that his country "has never had the intention to refrain from ratifying the accord" and that after long waiting for a satisfactory entente to be arrived at voluntarily between the two interested States, his Government simply came to the conclusion that further delay was useless. "The royal Government," he added, "does not wish the ratification to be given a hostile character toward Russia." In point of fact, the ratification may be regarded as having become practically a certainty when the Italo-Rumanian treaty of friendship of Sept. 16 was signed at Rome. Other factors seem clearly to have been the disappointment which Italy has shared with Great Britain and other States by reason of the failure of Russian trade to develop as promised, together with a general tendency to increased Italo-British collaboration in international affairs.

#### A SETBACK FOR SOVIET DIPLOMACY

It is hardly necessary to say that the Italian action involved a serious setback for Soviet diplomacy, the more by reason of the fact that, unlike the British and French ratifications, it was taken by a State which



Map of Rumania, showing the position of Bessarabia and the Russian frontier

was in full diplomatic relations with Moscow. For years, one of the main tasks of the Soviet Ambassador at Rome had been to prevent precisely this thing from happening. The news provoked a bitter outburst in the Soviet press, *Izvestia*, mouth-piece of the Government, terming the act "openly unfriendly to Soviet Russia" and a menace to the amicable relations between the two countries; and on March 18 a formal note of protest was delivered to the Italian Foreign Office. When made public on the following day, this paper was found to be a studiously polite but decidedly vigorous document. It declared that the treaty of 1920 and the various ratifications thereof are not only an infraction of the right of self-determination of peoples, but a danger to the peace of Europe, and that it indicates participation by Italy in "plans directed against the Soviet Union and consequently against European peace." It urged that Rumania's persistent refusal of a plebiscite in the disputed territory is the best proof that the rule of that Power therein rests only on the force of military occupation and violence over the will of the population. And, pointing out that the Paris agreement was signed when the signatories actually were warring against the Soviet Union, the note urged that ratification three years after the restoration of normal relations is a breach of international law, thereby raising what is, indeed, a rather pretty legal question,

It should be observed, too, that protest

comes not only from Soviet sources. Russian refugees in Geneva of all political creeds, but especially followers of the Czarist régime, have adopted a resolution declaring that the annexation of Bessarabia to Rumania, as recognized by the Allied Powers, constituted a crime against Russia and sowed the seeds of a future war. And M. Alexander Kerensky, who at present is in the United States, characterizes the Italian action as "in line with the tragically mistaken policy of European diplomacy with regard to Russia," and says that when Russia gets on her feet Rumania will be compelled to seek friendly relations with her, and that, "in one way or another, the status of Bessarabia will then have to be determined in agreement with Russia."

At Moscow, the ratification of the treaty is universally interpreted as an adherence by Italy to the anti-Soviet campaign of the British Government, as one more rampart in the diplomatic prison wall which Sir Austen Chamberlain is seeking to build around Soviet Russia. Mr. Chamberlain has said that the ratification had not been discussed between him and Premier Mussolini—although the latter had communicated his intention to ratify—and has denied that Italy's action is evidence that he is building a bloc against Russia. But he is frank to characterize British relations with Moscow as "bad"; and, at the least, the Italian ratification indicates that as between British friendship and Russian, the former is valued by Italy the more highly.

## Soviet's Fear of War

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Assistant Professor of History, Yale University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

**M**ORE evidence has come to light to strengthen the opinion that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is dictated more by fear of foreign aggression than by an arrogant desire to foment "world revolution." In the *Soviet Union Review* for March, issued by the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, Americans may read diplomatic notes to the French and Italian Governments, published by the Soviet Government in its official organ, *Izvestia*, on Jan. 22 and 27.

The note from the Soviet minister, Rakovsky, to the President of the French Council of Ministers follows:

Having become cognizant of the text of the treaty signed between France and Rumania on June 10, 1926, my Government has authorized me to express to you the painful impression which was produced upon the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the conclusion of this treaty.

In fact, on the basis of this treaty, the French Government pledges its collaboration to Rumania in such form and unlimited extent that, by guaranteeing Rumania the maintenance of its territorial status quo, it permits





ANOTHER RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

[Germany has found to her cost that trading with Russia is a disastrous undertaking]

John Bull: "What! ain't it the land of promise?"

Germany: "Ja! all promises and nodings else!"

—Western Mail, Cardiff, Wales.

the latter to prolong its lawless and violent occupation of Bessarabia by force of arms. By this treaty France takes its stand on the side of the Rumanian Government, which, in contradiction to the most elementary principles of international law and its own formal declarations, as well as to the declarations of the Allied diplomatic representatives, including the representative of France, at Jassy in the year 1917, despite the repeated declarations in the formal agreement between General Averescu and the Soviet Government in 1918, and finally, in opposition to the often expressed desire of the Bessarabian people, refuses to fulfill its obligations and evacuate the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The French Government should know that the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the entire Bessarabian population, never have consented and never will consent to regard as lawful the occupation of Bessarabia and likewise its annexation by Rumania, in the face of the repeated protests of the Soviet Government and the Bessarabian population at a time when the toiling masses of the Union, battling for their freedom and independence, were able to triumph over their oppressors, both internal and external.

By signing this treaty at a time when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France are entertaining normal relations and when negotiations are in progress between the Soviet Government and the French Government for the purpose of eliminating, in the interest of both countries, those obstacles

which hinder their amicable development, the French Government has sowed doubt in the minds of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union as to the sincerity of its intentions to work for the rapprochement of the two nations.

In promising its aid to Rumania in the event of war and in proclaiming the community of French and Rumanian interests, without reservations as to Bessarabia, the French Government supports the aggressive and usurpative tendencies of the ruling circles of Rumania. It thereby decreases the chances of a peaceful settlement of the Bessarabian question on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination and intensifies the menace to peace in Eastern Europe.

I declare that my Government cannot regard the conclusion of the French guarantee treaty with Rumania as other than an unfriendly act aimed against the interests of both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Bessarabian population.

The note to Italy was of the same tenor with respect to the treaty between Italy and Rumania, signed on Sept. 16, 1926, which seemed to commit Italy to support the retention of Bessarabia by Rumania.

It appears quite probable that the publication of these notes to Italy and France had much to do with the martial utterances in January and February of Rykov, Chief Commissar, Voroshilov, Commissar of War,

Kalinin, President of the Soviet Federal Congress, and Bukharin, new head of the Third International. Furthermore, the notes may partially explain why the Soviet negotiators have been working with increased determination in the Baltic States to obtain separate pacts of non-aggression with Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland and to discourage the formation of a Baltic Union. They also, perhaps, give indication of the underlying reason for Sir Austen Chamberlain's refusal to break diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government and his remark on March 3 in the House of Commons: "You cannot have, whatever provocation and whatever your own interests are, a sudden breach between this country and Russia without its having a repercussion among all European States." It would indeed seem wise, if the British Government wished to avoid every possibility of plunging Europe into war again, to have regard for the high explosives in the Russian notes to Italy and France while considering the advisability of a diplomatic break between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Naturally enough, the Soviet leaders held to their contention that the Allied Powers had arbitrarily allotted Bessarabia to Rumania in 1920, without regard for the rights of the Soviet Union, and argued—sincerely or not matters little—that the inhabitants of Bessarabia were denied the right of self-determination. It certainly was not to be expected that Soviet statesmen would look upon French and Italian confirmation of Rumania's possession of Bessarabia as a purely defensive measure; they would have increased misgivings as to the real intent of France and Italy; they would see a more imminent possibility of concerted aggression upon the Soviet Union. Piling such suspicions upon their avowed convictions that Great Britain schemed to throw a cordon of hostile border-States about the Soviet Union, that the League of Nations was an organization not for the promotion of peace but for the manipulation of world affairs, primarily in the interest of the British Empire, the Soviet orators burst into harangues of their own people. They must look to the defences of the Soviet Union. They must prepare for war at once, for its shadow was already upon their native land.

#### STALIN'S COOLHEADEDNESS

The real state of affairs in Europe, however, seemed to be clearer to Stalin than to his more eloquent colleagues. On March

3, the very day when Chamberlain refused to carry the British case against the Soviet Government to the point of a diplomatic break, Stalin is reported to have declared to a mass-meeting of railroad workers in Moscow: "No break of relations with England is likely, and there will be no wars this year. A war danger does exist, but our enemies are as yet unprepared, and the Western workers do not wish to fight Russia. Finally, because our policy is directed to peace, it is difficult to pick a quarrel with us." With this reassurance to his audience and himself, Stalin hammered upon his own ideas as to the way in which the Russian people should safeguard their country. They could not count upon foreign loans, he said, nor long-term credits; they had to rely solely upon their own thrift and hard work. And as for communism, he declared: "Many Communists are boastful and overestimate the value of the Communist Party. Communist policy certainly is important, but it will not be worth a cent without the support of the mass of the Russian population."

Despite Stalin's assertion that war was not imminent, the Soviet Government was in a predicament. Its diplomacy had given offense to Great Britain. It might as easily affront Italy and France. In fact there were indications that the negotiations with France, which had been resumed in March for the settlement of old Russian debts and



GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

The wonderful preacher of repentance and the unbeliever

—De Notenkraaker, Amsterdam

the placement of new loans to the Soviet Government, would break down once more. France, it was reported, demanded that the Soviet Government raise its proposed annual payments from 55,000,000 to 80,000,000 francs or compensate France with unusual guarantees of large and increasing shipments of petroleum from the Soviet oilfields. Moreover, the harangues of the Russian people failed. Instead of responding to the call to arms in support of the Government, the masses endeavored to hoard supplies against the evil day of war. They jeopardized the domestic program of price-reduction and effective distribution of manufactured goods, which Stalin and his associates considered most essential for the coordination of Russia's industry and agriculture and for winning the peasantry to the support of the Soviet régime.

Perhaps this reaction of the masses to the

talk of war had not been foreseen. Perhaps Stalin and his associates in the Soviet Government were taken by surprise and were forced to abandon a deep-laid plan to defy Great Britain and France with war and to take the offensive against the small States around the border of the Soviet Union with armed force. No doubt many foreign observers hold to such an opinion. But there is clearly room for the counter-opinion that the Soviet orators bristled with fear of attack and that they were much relieved to learn that Great Britain was not yet ready to break off diplomatic relations and to take that grim stride toward war. In either case, Stalin and those about him must watch happenings in China with some satisfaction over the results of Communist propaganda there and with the feeling that their cause against imperialistic Britain is making progress.

## Spain's Suppression of Catalan Nationalism

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

Professor Emeritus of History, Johns Hopkins University; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

**C**OLONEL FRANCESC MACIA, Catalonian patriot, is now in Belgium. His attempt to enter Spain last November with a small military force for the purpose of starting a revolution in Catalonia was frustrated by the French police, and the trial which ensued resulted in his expulsion from France, all of which was strictly according to French law. But the cause which Macia supported was not on trial, and now that the excitement has abated it is in order to state briefly the main issues in this Catalonian question.

Catalonia is the unofficial name of a triangular district in the extreme northeast corner of Spain, bounded on the north by the Pyrenees and on the east by the Mediterranean Sea. Its four provinces of Gerona, Lerida, Barcelona and Tarragona cover an area of 12,427 square miles and the total population numbers about two and one-half millions. The most important of these provinces is Barcelona, which contains more than half of the population, including the City of Barcelona with nearly 750,000 inhabitants.

The spurs of the Pyrenees render the country somewhat rugged, but irrigation and careful attention have made it reasonably productive in agriculture and animal life. The chief feature of productivity, however, is mechanical industry, wherein Barcelona surpasses all other cities of Spain for manufactures of various kinds. The city is, in fact, the industrial centre of the country, with the advantages and disadvantages which that position incurs. It is only a small portion of the Kingdom of Spain, but its wealth and activity are such that it bears a heavy part of the taxation of the General Government.

The name Catalonia reaches far back into history, sometimes indicating a people, sometimes a political division. The evidence of settlement along this coast goes back into prehistoric times, but the origin of the first inhabitants remains in dispute. The fact of most importance is that during the Middle Ages there grew up here a language derived from the Latin, showing characteristics which differ much from the Spanish and are more akin to the Provençal of

Southern France. The mountain chains of Spain facilitated the separation of groups which in the course of time develop into political units like Castile or Aragon, and frequently with diversities of dialect. In the case of Catalonia the divergence is so marked that it has become to its people a birthmark of patriotism.

Throughout history the Catalonians have been noted for vigor and initiative, although these qualities have been more conspicuous at one time than at another. During the Middle Ages their seamen often dominated the Mediterranean, whether as merchants or pirates. The Catalan tongue became the necessary lingo of those waters, and in naval warfare these sailors rendered prodigious service to the cause which they espoused. So there is a long record of restless adventure both in war and in times of peace.

Politically speaking, Catalonia during the more important part of its history has been a province of Spain. In the medieval period, when Spain was a cluster of small kingdoms, there was an independent Prince of Catalonia, but when his house was joined in marriage to the Kingdom of Aragon the process of consolidation began, and through marriage or conquest a Spanish monarchy was gradually formed which covered the whole of the Iberian peninsula except Portugal. This development was practically completed in the fifteenth century under Ferdinand and Isabella, and although during the European wars of the seventeenth century there were short periods in which the Catalonians gave their allegiance to French kings, the outward connection with Spain can be said to have been continuous.

Willingness to be held in this subjection was another matter. The desire for an independent existence, if not for political separation, has manifested itself openly at repeated intervals. In earlier periods when central power was feeble the Catalonians could lead their own life, and their language and their peculiar qualities could develop without much interference. As subjects of modern Spain they have shown much independence of thought, while their excitable temperament has sometimes led to riotous excess. When the civil wars of the nineteenth century brought about a temporary Spanish Republic, the Catalonians were among those who insisted that the new Government should be a federal Republic, not a unit State like France. Otherwise they would have no distinct political life. Under the most favorable Gov-

ernments since that time sectionalism and discontent have often been openly manifested.

This brief historical review is intended to show some of the political traditions which underlie the situation in Catalonia today. These memories are reinforced by the actual existence of a distinct Catalan culture and civilization which have been nurtured and developed in that small portion of the world. Literature in the Catalan tongue has manifested itself in forms of the highest type. For a long time its growth was smothered, but during the past hundred years the productions in prose and poetry have been both abundant and remarkable. Music and art have their devotees whose reputations are not confined to their own country. In the teaching of science, Catalonia has kept up with the rest of the world, while law and philosophy have taken their place in the Catalan University at Barcelona. No less than five "Academies" or societies have been founded for the advancement of literature and science.

All these things are products of local effort carried on for a long time with special emphasis in recent years. About ten years ago the Catalonians obtained the right to organize the four provinces for common action in education and public welfare in general. Under this privilege of "*mancomunidad*" they were accomplishing much, when the Dictator in 1923 put an end to this manifestation of local government. The King revoked the "*mancomunidad*" and further restrictions were laid upon Catalonia. The four provinces were ordered to be governed like all other divisions of Spain. Officials favorable to the dictatorship were placed in charge and strict censorship of the press attempted to prevent criticism of the Government. This last applied to all parts of Spain, but in Catalonia every effort was also made to discourage or prevent the use of the local language. Manifestations of local patriotism were suppressed. Protests of the university professors brought about wholesale discharge, while imprisonments for political offenses multiplied.

In explanation of these measures the Dictator asserted that Catalonia was a focus of Communism and separatism. Undoubtedly, like every other European industrial centre, Barcelona contains a communistic element. It is also true that there have been numerous strikes, and various bomb-plots for which there is no excuse. Political discontent has often led to riot, as it has in other countries, but the methods



used to suppress these things are decidedly questionable.

To the Central Government the separation of Catalonia from Spain is unthinkable. The loss of territory, of the best of revenues, and of military recruits would call out the greatest resistance, and hence the effort to smite anything suggesting rebellion. But it looks as if the dictatorship might cause that very thing. There are no figures to show whether a large number of Catalonians are willing to go to war for independence. The few who took up arms recently had come to the conclusion that there was no other course and counted on popular support, but there was no opportunity for demonstration.

To an outsider the prospect of success looks meager. Catalanian independence

could be obtained only with the help of some outside Power, and such a conflict with Spain does not seem to be in the plans of any State at present. Furthermore, the outsider looks askance at the formation of another petty State in the map of Europe, with new tariff walls, new kinds of money, and more armies, but the advice of outsiders will not be asked on either side.

At the same time it is a pity that a fine culture should be held down under political oppression, when even a moderate amount of local self-government would permit its development. The kindred spirits in Provence could sing at will even under monarchs, and the experience of other nations shows that the suppression of minorities has been unwise if not perilous. So it may prove in Catalonia.

## Italy's Ambitions in the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois; Member of the Board of Current History Associates

PRESS dispatches not long ago suggested that negotiations were under way according to which France would cede to Italy, in return for final renunciation of all Italian claims upon Tunis and Morocco, the mandate for Syria. It was further suggested that, while Italy would take Syria for six years under mandate, the consent of the League of Nations would be asked after three years for converting the mandate into a protectorate. At about the same time the rumor which arose some months before was revived according to which Greece and Italy were preparing active military operations against Turkey, with a view toward the acquisition by Italy of the southwestern portion of Asia Minor.

In order to understand these reports rightly it is necessary to review modern Italian relations with different portions of the Near East. The beginning may be said to have been the resolution of the Congress of Italian Chambers of Commerce which met at Genoa in 1869, to the effect that the Government should establish a commercial post near the mouth of the Red Sea. A few months later the nucleus of the Colony of Eritrea was acquired. Expansion was slow because of the diplomatic resistance of certain European Powers and the

fighting qualities of the neighboring peoples. The Abyssinians in particular showed considerable capacity to defend their country by inflicting bloody defeats upon the invaders. The beginnings of the Italian colony in Somaliland date from 1892. Here also the Italians came into contact with the Abyssinians. Though compelled by the defeat of 1896 to recognize in clear terms the independence of Abyssinia, Italy can hardly be said ever to have abandoned the hope of proceeding by regular European imperialistic methods toward the "penetration" and the ultimate acquisition in one form or another of the country.

From about the year 1878 Italian statesmen began to look with covetous eyes upon certain areas which were attached more or less closely to the Ottoman Empire. At one time or another they have desired Tunis, Tripoli, the eastern shore of the Red Sea, Albania, Rhodes, and large portions of Asia Minor. France forestalled the Italians in Tunis in 1881, and they were obliged to wait thirty years before the definite acquisition of any part of the Ottoman inheritance by the cession of Tripoli. During the Tripolitan war, demonstrations were made against Albania and Jeddah, but the reaction of other European Powers was dis-

tinctly unfavorable to Italian ambitions at these points. Italy seized Rhodes and the Twelve Islands during the war, and retained occupancy after its close.

The outbreak of the World War presented a new set of conditions. By the Treaty of London of 1915, on the basis of which Italy joined in the struggle, she was promised the bulk of Albania, some enlargement of her territories in Africa, the full ownership of Rhodes and a share in the partition of Asia Minor. The last promise was made more definite in 1917, when the southern third of Asia Minor was assigned in full ownership, together with a sphere of influence which included the important city of Smyrna. The French and British Governments joined in this promise, but left open a way of retreat until the adhesion of Russia should be obtained, which on account of the Russian revolutions never took place. At the Peace Conference in 1919 the Italian representatives labored strenuously to acquire all the territories that had been promised them at any time during the war. In addition they desired the control of certain coal mines near Ereğli in Northern Asia Minor. A project was, in fact, discussed according to which Italy might be given a mandate or protectorate over the Turks, involving control of the whole of Asia Minor with the exception of an area for Greece to the west, and one for Armenia to the east.

#### ITALY ACTS ALONE

In order to improve the practical situation, the Italians proceeded in the Spring of 1919, without obtaining the consent of the other victors, to occupy coastal and interior points within the area promised them in Southern Asia Minor. This action angered the "Big Three" at Paris, so that they permitted a Greek army to occupy Smyrna and the adjacent territory. The Turks were provoked to vigorous reaction, and promptly began the process whereby through arms and diplomacy they succeeded in eliminating Greeks, Armenians, French and also Italians from Asia Minor.

During a period of internal troubles in 1920 the Italians withdrew their troops from Albania, which they had occupied in the latter part of the war. Having held Rhodes and the neighboring islands since 1912, they now discussed the question of turning these islands over to Greece. Since 1915 their actual hold upon Tripoli had been restricted to regions adjacent to the coast. When the Turks recovered their independence with the Treaty of Lausanne

in 1923, France, Great Britain and Italy surrendered their claims upon Asia Minor. Italy, however, retained Rhodes and the Dodecanese (the Twelve Islands), abandoning the thought of giving them to Greece. The Italian Government had already fallen under the control of Mussolini, but his hands were for some time mainly occupied with internal conditions.

The Italian dictator made himself Minister of Foreign Affairs, and as circumstances permitted directed attention toward Near Eastern problems. The process was completed by which Great Britain and France, to compensate Italy for their acquisition of the greater part of the former German colonies in Africa, assigned to her substantial superficial increases of the Tripolitan and Somaliland areas. The administration of these areas was greatly invigorated and complete control recovered. After prolonged negotiations the boundary between Tripoli and Egypt was defined and delimited. Most of Mussolini's efforts have, however, been in the direction of acquiring by international negotiations a group of commercial advantages. In a number of public utterances he has, it is true, hinted at moves toward the re-establishment of ancient Roman dominion. It is therefore possible that he is resuming the familiar line of imperialistic operations which lead by the economic road through "peaceful penetration" to political domination.

Without attempting hitherto to resume direct military and political control of Albania, protection has been given to the existing Government, and various concessions have been obtained. Treaties have been negotiated with the different Balkan States such that Italy bids fair to become a ranking commercial influence in the peninsula. Recent developments in regard to Albania and Rumania are discussed elsewhere in this publication. Italian activities in Rhodes show a clear intention to remain there indefinitely. Barracks, schools and hotels are being constructed on a large scale. Encouragement is given to the settlement of Italians in Rhodes and the islands and the peaceable departure of other elements, particularly the numerically predominant Greeks. The Turks in 1919 were somewhat contemptuous of the military capacity of the Italians. This did not hinder them from accepting material assistance from Italy during their struggle to expel the Greek army. It cannot be said that Turkey is showing special favors to Italy in her recent regulation of shipping and

trade. But Italy's trade with Turkey, both as regards imports and exports, is increasing out of proportion to that of other lands with Turkey. After prolonged negotiations, a treaty of friendship and commerce was signed on Sept. 2 at Sana'a, between Italy and the Yemen, of a character to make possible Italian commercial and advisory predominance in that region. Thus another step was taken looking toward a future large block of land under Italian influence, including Yemen, Asir, Eritrea, Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland.

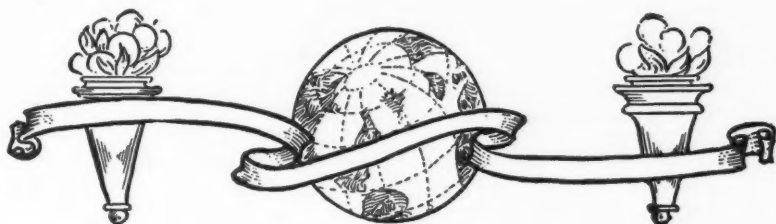
#### ABYSSINIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Abyssinians have lately been frightened by the publication of an exchange of letters between the Italian and British Governments, according to which the former agrees not to object if the latter should obtain from the Abyssinian Government the right to utilize certain waters for the benefit of irrigation in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In recompense Great Britain will not object if Italy obtains from the Abyssinian Government the right to build a railway which will connect Eritrea with Italian Somaliland. The matter has been settled temporarily by the deposit on behalf of the Abyssinian Government with the Secretariat of the League of Nations of a declaration according to which the African nation reserves her complete independence, particularly as regards granting such permissions as proposed. To this declaration the Italian and British Governments offer no objection.

Coming then to the question whether rumor is accurate in reporting negotiations between Italy and France for the transfer of the Syrian mandate to the former, and between Italy and Greece looking toward joint military action against Turkey, both

processes being affirmed to have the knowledge and consent of the British Government, the probability is that neither project, if actually discussed, will be carried out in the near future. France already possesses the acquiescence of Italy in her occupation of Tunis and Morocco. The pride of France is deeply involved in the maintenance of her leadership in Syria. She is much more likely to propose increasingly liberal terms of accommodation with the natives of Syria, still retaining her position as mandatory power, than to turn over the country to Italy or Great Britain or any other Power. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the Syrian mandate was awarded to France against the wishes of the great majority of the people of the country, it seems highly improbable that the Council of the League of Nations would consent to the transfer of the mandate without consulting the people of the country. These have in the past given very slight consideration to the possibility of an Italian control, and they would very likely prefer as against that alternative to retain connection with the French, whose language and whose ways they understand.

Nor does it seem probable that Italy and Greece, considering their recent rivalries and conflicts of interests, can reach an agreement to pick a quarrel with Turkey and enter upon a joint aggression. It is certain that they would have a very stiff fight upon their hands. Their financial situation, and in particular that of Greece, does not favor a policy which involves heavy expenditure. The preference of the remaining European Powers for the continuance of peace cannot be disregarded lightly. It is especially hard to believe that the British Government would lend itself in any way to the opening of a new bloody phase of the intricate Eastern question.



# Bolshevist Influences in China

By QUINCY WRIGHT

Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, Member of the Board of Current History Associates

IN the mass of detailed information about events in China, doubtless the average reader is quite lost and asks, What is really the trouble in China? Some answer that it is Bolshevism, pointing to the undoubted assistance given the Chinese Nationalists by the Russian Communists, to the undoubted existence of a Communist Party in China and to the avowed Communist aim of world revolution. Others answer that it is anti-foreignism with the Boxer disturbances of 1900 still in mind. Still others speak of the militarism brought on by the rivalries of ambitious Generals and resulting in excessive taxation, interference with civil administration and widespread banditry by unpaid deserters from the armies. The report of the Extraterritoriality Commission, published last Fall, emphasized this as a reason for the inadequacy of the Chinese administration of justice.

Perhaps the explanation of the Chinese situation most generally accepted by historians is nationalism, a phenomenon which has always occurred when a people of distinctive cultural characteristics becomes aware of foreign domination. Napoleonic domination in Italy and Germany a century ago created nationalism there, as did Turkish domination in the Balkans and the Arab countries.

Recently increased communication by the moving picture and mass education, the leadership of Western-educated Chinese, the war shibboleth of self-determination, and the propaganda of Soviet agents have made the Chinese aware of the inequality with which they have been treated by the West, and the result has been the development of the Kuomintang, the only real political party in China, with national independence as its main slogan. This organization differs radically from the Boxers in that its leaders are Western-educated. They wish to introduce Western methods into China, not to eliminate them as did the Boxers, who feared the West because they were ignorant of it.

If, however, the Kuomintang is not anti-foreign, is it not Bolshevist? The Communist Party of China has joined it, but has

been a decided minority. Is it likely to grow so as to control the whole party, will it split off, or will it continue a minority faction? It has been reported that the civil Government at Hankow has come under the influence of the Communist wing of the Kuomintang and that General Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the moderates, has been or is about to be dismissed. Such a split is denied in Nationalist quarters. On April 6 the Nationalist news agency in New York published a manifesto by Chen Tu-shou of the Communist wing and Wang Ching-wei of the moderate wing asserting that the party's aim was democratic nationalism, not a dictatorship of the proletariat. The economic condition of China, it asserted, as well as its traditions, made Communism impossible there. The same thing is asserted by most Western missionaries and educators in China. Ninety per cent. of the Chinese are not and can not be made Communists, in the opinion of Dr. Warnshuis of the Foreign Missions Conference. One reason is that 80 per cent. of them are farmers with homes.

If the Kuomintang can keep united and can keep to the democratic nationalism of Sun Yat-sen it seems to have some prospects of uniting China. It has adherents among all classes of Chinese in all parts of China. The Chinese Bankers Association recently advanced a loan of \$3,000,000 and promised \$7,000,000 more. The membership is said to be 28 per cent. students, 25 per cent. soldiers and officers, 12 per cent. workers mostly from skilled trades, and 10 per cent. peasants. The political director is S. M. Peng and until recently the head of the propaganda section was Kou Meng-yu, formerly Dean of the Faculty of the National University at Peking and now Minister of Education in the Hankow Government. Other ministers in this Government are Hsu Sao-Seng, Labor; H. H. Kang, Industry; Tam Ping-san, Agriculture; Eugene Chen, Foreign Affairs, and T. V. Soong, Finance. The party has developed a technique of propaganda through Soviet advisers and its military discipline is said to be the best in any Chinese army.

On the other hand the Northern war



lords have been steadily losing both by the Nationalist military advances and by defections. Chang Tso-lin, who has owed his strength to his firm control of Manchuria, is said to have weakened himself there by excessive taxes to finance his Southern campaign. The revival of banditry during his absence and the active Soviet propaganda have also had an effect. If Chinese affairs were determined only by internal factors, a guess at the future course of events might be hazarded, but they are not. The attitude of foreign Powers has been and still is of great importance.

Great Britain has an important trade and important investments in China, which have profited by special privileges, but she seems willing to relinquish these special privileges. Hongkong as a British colony is in a different class and on March 30 the Government denied any thought of abandoning it, but the gradual relinquishment of concessions and settlements and extraterritoriality in China seems to be accepted British policy. British anxiety is directed more toward India. Through the nineteenth century she fought several Afghan wars to prevent Russia approaching too near India's most vulnerable land bridge. Afghanistan is now independent and influenced more from Moscow than from London. If nationalism were successful in China, it would stimulate the rising nationalism of India, and, if the Chinese Nationalists were friendly to Moscow, as is the Afghan Ameer, India would be in the jaws of the bear. "The real danger to Asia," said Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador to the United States, on March 25, "is Russian imperialism, which is as lively today as it was in the time of the Czars." But, he added, "because the Nationalist Party of China has accepted assistance from Moscow, as did at one time the Nationalist Party of Turkey, it does not follow in the least that they believe in the nationalization of production, distribution and supply any more than the Government of Turkey." If the Nationalists of China can keep from being a base for Russian imperialism, the British seem ready to allow them to organize China, and, in case they succeed, to recognize

them and revise the existing treaties with them.

Japan is more dependent on China than any other country. She has the largest number of citizens residing there and, though her trade is second to that of Great Britain, it forms a larger percentage of her total trade. Since the failure of the Twenty-one Demands of 1915, partly through the Washington Conference, her policy has changed from one of domination to one of conciliation. She can not afford to risk her possessions and citizens in China by arousing hostility. She would like to get rid of all Western Powers in China to the profit of her trade and is no less anxious than Great Britain to prevent Russian influence. Apart from Southern Manchuria, however, which she considers her sphere, she seems ready to welcome the success of the Nationalists in uniting China.

The United States has a tradition of friendship for China and her interests are more largely missionary and educational than is the case with other countries. The missionaries have sympathized with the aspirations of the Nationalists, and the United States has been reluctant to sacrifice Chinese friendship by intervention. The United States, however, is the only



DEMOCRATIC CHINA EMERGING FROM THE MISTS  
—The New York World



#### WHO'S WHO IN CHINA

[After consideration, the British artist has decided not to spend his vacation on the Yangtsekiang this Summer]

—The Star, London

important country which still refuses to recognize Soviet Russia. Thus, the fear of Communist influence among the Chinese



A GOOD DOG TILL THE SHOOTING STARTS

—The Chicago Tribune

Nationalists makes friendship for them peculiarly difficult.

France has kept aloof and has sought to ingratiate herself with the Nationalists who neighbor her Asiatic possessions in Indo-China. Italy, under Mussolini, believes in force and wishes to establish prestige in the Far East and is, therefore, ready to cooperate in coercing China if it does not cost too much. She has little material interest in the question.

Moscow doubtless wants to make trouble



THE NEW WASHING MACHINE LOOKS ROUGH

—New York Tribune

for the Western Powers so far as she can without losing their recognition or encouraging actual hostility. She wants peace and trade and an opportunity for internal economic reconstruction above everything just now. It seems doubtful whether she expects to Bolshevize China, though she wants China fully independent of Western imperialism and friendly to her. She doubtless hopes to retain her interests in outer Mongolia and outer Manchuria as the price of assistance to the Nationalists. If she can avoid being drawn into actual war with the Northern Chinese militarists, refrain from efforts to dominate the Nationalists, and persuade the Powers of the latter, the Nationalists may unite China.

# The Historians' Chronicle Of the World

*By the Board of Current History Associates*

CHAIRMAN: ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Period Ending April 8, 1927

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## The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

WHEN Congress is in session, we think that everything important in the world happens in Washington. When Congress effaces itself for nine months, the news is just as abundant and thrilling.

The people of Chicago re-elect a retired mayor on a platform of the defense of George Washington against modern Britain. The New York Legislature invents the new game of Baumes bills. Having nothing else to do, the two great States of New York and New Jersey tie up the nationally important Port Authority. When other pleasures fail, the country falls back on the contention over Prohibition. Senator Borah and Nicholas Murray Butler debate the issue at Boston, but leave undecided the vital question of what to do next. At Detroit, Henry Ford, the greatest manufacturer in the world, (through able counsel) saves the farmers from Sapiro, the greatest organizer of farm interests. Additional university faculties generously cancel the money obligations of foreign countries to the United States. The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia holds that a Senate Committee has a right to require an answer to questions put to the oil magnate, Sinclair. A finality seems to have been reached in the murder case of Sacco and Vanzetti, which has been before the courts for seven years. In New York State the courts have discerned a short-cut in breaking up the alarming system of immoral plays and movies: instead of injunction they punish severely criminal acts already committed.

These matters, however, will soon be forgotten; the vital fact of the month is that at this moment the unwarlike United States, with its hundred thousand or so soldiers and small naval and marine corps, is engaged in at least three international controversies which involve or may involve the use of force. The controversy in Nicaragua has called into being what can hardly be called anything else than a garrison of United States troops. The difficulty with Mexico seems just now to have entered a peaceful state largely because of the discovery that the State Department has been the victim of clever counterfeiterers of its dispatches. The third scene of special American interest is China; and that is an affair which has slowly been coming to a head for years.

The easiest way to understand the Chinese situation is to state it from the other end on. Let us suppose that from 1840 to 1865 several Asiatic nations—say China, Japan and Siam—established themselves on the Atlantic coast of our country. Suppose they insisted that in the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans, they should have the right to take up tracts of land, occupy them for business and for other purposes, and establish the principle that within those reservations no United States law should run, and no United States or State official should have jurisdiction. Suppose these privileges were nailed down by treaties secured from time to time at the muzzle of the cannon. Suppose that the Chinese, being far better organized for peace and war

than our country, should have insisted that we must receive diplomats, traders and tourists and protect them even in parts of our country where American citizens are not safe from Ku-Kluxers or lynchers. Suppose that several thousand Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist missionaries spread through the land under these protective treaties and made many thousands of converts. Suppose the United States, having very little fixed capital, should be besieged by Chinese and Japanese investors to authorize them to build railroads and ports and make loans to the impoverished United States Government, thereby obtaining a hold on most of the organized business and transportation. Suppose, at the same time, that immigration, for all but a few of the upper classes, into China from the United States was prohibited. Suppose that the Battery in New York City were turned into a park for the exclusive use of Chinese, and that it was made a punishable offense for an American to set foot within its boundary. Suppose further that under these treaties, exacted by military force, the United States Government were allowed to levy duties of not more than 5 per cent. on imports, provided the money was collected by Chinese officials. Suppose that a movement began, let us say, in New Orleans and the people of the neighboring Southern States slowly came together and marched northward, first of all to get possession of what was left of the American Government; and then, if possible, to drive the Chinese out of the country.

This is precisely and literally what has happened to China since 1840 and now in our own day. Of course, the conditions on the two sides of the globe are different. Of course, the United States represents the most advanced civilization of the modern world, and China belongs to a backward group, which, however, achieved a high civilization at least two thousand years before our own ancestors. Of course, the occupation of the key points of the Chinese coast and interior by Europeans has helped the Chinese National Government to maintain itself. Of course, European and American capital has opened employment and comfort to hundreds of thousands of Chinese. Of course, the Chinese who have been educated in the West have been a powerful influence in the regeneration of their own country. Of course, Western influence and capital and energy and leadership suggested to the Chinese what they

might do by means of union and national power.

As for the missionaries, they have been a great intellectual and moral force in China. The Americans and those of some other countries have manfully set themselves to the task of inspiring a class of young Chinese, educated in Western ideals, who might be expected to serve as a nationalizing force on modern lines. It is not strange that some of these pupils have learned the secrets of Western power, with the intention of applying them to the building up of a Government of their own in China, which can dictate to the West instead of receiving orders.

Thus vast vested interests have been created in China by Western money capital and by Western intellectual and religious efforts. Those interests cannot be appropriated by the Chinese without an accounting. Ever since 1840 any attempt resembling the present efforts to drive all foreigners out of the country has resulted within a few months in a punishment inflicted by Western troops, and the Chinese have paid the bill in money or privilege. A joint Western European military expedition might recover the ports and even restore the missionary stations, but would that lay the foundations of a lasting Chinese Government that would continue protection?

The inescapable difficulty is that the Chinese are an extremely able people with an ancient intellectual and religious civilization of their own. We have impelled them to think in Western terms of an independent empire. If the West is to insist on continuing a status in China which the mostly highly enlightened China would never be allowed to claim for itself in other parts of the world, then the West must prepare itself for a long war and a war at vast distances from the bases of troops and supplies against a nation of thrice our population, flanked and perhaps protected by Russia, the most populous, irresponsible and ambitious European power. If we have not at this moment sufficient moral or physical force to protect our missionaries and business men beyond the concession lines of Shanghai and perhaps Peking, where shall we find the moral or physical force necessary to restore our missions and consulates and go-downs, among 350,000,000 people who do not like us, and who are protected by the immense roadless areas of their country?

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## International Events

THE sessions of the Forty-fourth Council opened on March 7 and ended on March 12. Although the agenda contained no items of a spectacular character, two at least (the Upper Silesian School dispute and the Sarre police question) were of considerable importance.

Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, speaking to a group of newspaper men at Geneva, said: "The great importance of meetings of the Council lies in the possibility of taking great questions out of the atmosphere of written notes and bringing them into the realm of personal contacts." He might have illustrated his remark from his own experience during the week. Poland and Germany for some time have been endeavoring to negotiate a very much needed commercial treaty. Trade between the two countries is hampered and both sides desired to come to an agreement. A few weeks ago, however, Poland took occasion to expel four German railroad men from her territory, and in protest Germany on Feb. 15 broke off the conversations. A way out of the impasse was difficult to find. Both nations stood on their dignity and neither would make the first move. The two Foreign Ministers, Stresemann and Zaleski, met at Geneva and metaphorically glared at each other, Chamberlain and Briand intervened. Von Schubert, one of the German delegation, was induced to call on Zaleski. The ice having been broken, Stresemann invited Zaleski to dinner and the two diplomats were photographed together. Then negotiations were resumed. As an isolated incident the episode has small significance, but as an example of one of the many uses of the League it looms large, for it is from misunderstandings such as this that many important crises have developed.

Article 69 of the Geneva Convention, by which Upper Silesia was assigned to Poland, requires that country to provide "in the public educational system of towns and districts in which a considerable portion of the population are Polish nationals of other than Polish speech adequate facilities for insuring in the primary schools that instruction be given to children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language." The Government, in an effort to minimize German influence, ruled that the expression of a wish to enter a German language school was insufficient; there

must be clear evidence that German was in fact the mother tongue of the child. Commissions were set up before which each application was considered, and more than 7,000 petitions were refused. There was no material dispute as to the facts, but some of the legal aspects of the case were rather involved, so much so that some effort was made to take it to The Hague. The Council felt, however, that the issue was essentially political rather than legal, and its decision supported the German contention at almost every point. Children in whose homes both Polish and German are spoken may attend if they prefer the German schools. Disputed cases are to be referred to the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission, and a Swiss educator is to be appointed to assist it with expert advice.

The last day of the meeting saw a settlement of the difficult question of the Sarre police. The Versailles Treaty provided for the enlistment of a force of gendarmerie



THE MANUFACTURER OF MUNITIONS  
"Thank goodness, business is improving again"

—Lachen Links, Berlin



#### THE EUROPEAN BOBSLED

Is this a clear run, or is it going over a precipice?

—Lachen Links, Berlin

which should maintain order after the withdrawal of the French army of occupation. After a good deal of delay enlistments have been brought up to the limit of 1,000 men, and it is the contention of the Germans that no other police are necessary. The French, however, insisted and carried their point with the Sarre Valley Governing Commission that an additional interallied force of 800 men was necessary to insure the protection of the railroads. Both Governments felt that their national prestige was involved and the issue was sharply debated. The German press was particularly violent in its demand that Stresemann should not yield. The contest went on for several days, but at the final session Stresemann, acting, as he said, more as a "League man" than as a German, and because at the first meeting of the Council at which Germany furnished the presiding officer, he did not wish to assume a recalcitrant position, agreed to the proposal, with the proviso that the French troops should be withdrawn within three months; that the interallied force should be under the sole direction of the Governing Commission, which would agree to use it only in exceptional cases; and, finally, that the commission should have authority to reduce the size of the force should it seem wise. It is rather amusing to note that, although the German press for the next few days condemned Stresemann unsparingly, the Reichstag on his return gave him its approval by a larger vote than he has received on any other occasion.

The dispute between Hungary and Rumania regarding the expropriation under the agrarian law of the latter country of the lands of Hungarian optants in Transylvania still remains unsettled. The matter has been under discussion for several years. In 1923 an agreement was reached at a conference held in Brussels and was signed by the representative of Hungary, but the action was later repudiated by his Government. After a prolonged debate at this session the question was referred to a committee composed of Sir Austen Chamberlain, Count Ishii and M. Villegas, which is to report in June.

The morning of March 10 was given over to a discussion of the financial and economic work of the League. It was reported that the conditions precedent to the Danzig loan are nearly fulfilled. The new customs agreement between Danzig and Poland is yet to be approved, and an arrangement must be made regarding the tobacco monopoly. Estonia was told that financial reform is necessary before the loan which she seeks can be authorized. A request from Greece for an addition to the loan made to her for refugee settlement was discussed, as was the similar question of the Bulgarian refugee settlement. The League is to be represented at the Economic Conference by five delegates nominated by the International Chamber of Commerce, by the President of the International Labor Office, the President of the International Institute of Agriculture, a member of the International Cooperative Alliance and by three women delegates later to be named.

A long report, consisting of sixty-one folio pages, regarding seizures of opium and other illicit drugs was approved, published, and later, evidently because of some protest, withdrawn. It gave in great detail an account of each seizure, the origin of the shipment and the names of all concerned. It is evident that the present method of control is far from being effective. The German police have unearthed a large band of smugglers operating from Copenhagen; a Hongkong syndicate is reported to be doing a business amounting to \$200,000 a month; in India the illicit use of opium is at least four times that permitted, and large shipments are being made by mail from Czechoslovakia to China.

On March 9 the Council released for publication the first part of an extensive report on the white slave traffic, prepared under the direction of Sir Austen Chamberlain. The second part is still withheld, although the *London Times* and the *London Ob-*

server are waging a vigorous campaign for its publication. The report is the result of a prolonged investigation extending through many countries, and it demonstrates that as yet very little progress has been made in suppressing the trade. What amounts to an international organization still exists, with a well-established hierarchy, an office for the production of forged passports and for the exchange of information. The report charges that the success of this organization is largely dependent on the so-called license system of control of prostitution.

The Mandates Commission was instructed that delegations representing disaffected elements of the population of mandated territory are not to be accorded a hearing. Petitions representing their views may still be received and considered.

The German steel manufacturers have been unsuccessful in their attempt to secure a revision of the national quotas, but at a meeting at Düsseldorf, on March 8, they were able to obtain an increase of the total production for the second quarter by 1,500,000 tons, thus securing a part of the benefits for which they sought. This will have the effect of reducing the amount they must pay into the equalization pool from \$2,500,000 to about \$1,250,000. An attempt is being made to include pig iron within the terms of the agreement.

The new treaty of friendship, arbitration and conciliation, signed by Mussolini and Bethlen on April 5, is in character similar to nine others concluded by the Italian Government since 1923, the latest of which was that with Albania. On the

same day, Governmental approval was given to the findings of the experts of the two countries who have been studying the means of giving Hungary an outlet to the sea through Fiume. This port, since it was finally assigned to Italy, has been almost unused, but this arrangement will be likely to restore its prosperity.

The conclusion of these agreements is somewhat disturbing to the Foreign Offices both of France and of Yugoslavia—to the former, because it marks another step in the decline of her predominance in Southeastern Europe; and to the latter, because of the feeling that she is being encircled by a series of alliances with Italy that may operate seriously in her disfavor. Although for the moment the tension over the Albanian situation has been lessened, Yugoslavia does not believe that the status quo is secure.

President Coolidge has appointed the following as delegates to represent the United States at the International Economic Conference; Henry M. Robinson of Los Angeles, formerly a member of the Reparation Commission; Norman H. Davis of New York, formerly Assistant Secretary of State and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; John W. O'Leary of Chicago, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Alonzo E. Taylor, Director of the Food Research Institute of Stanford University and formerly a member of the War Trade Board; Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Treasury Department.

J. T. G.

## The United States

WHILE the serious developments in China, described elsewhere in this issue, have led to a considerable increase of American naval and marine forces in that country, the attitude of the Administration has continued to be, in general, one of watchful forbearance. Under the familiar device of the "unofficial spokesman" President Coolidge let it be known on March 29 that the United States was disposed to refrain from anything that could be construed as making war on China, and that the forces which had been assembled under the command of Admiral Williams would be used to protect American citizens and their property. Both diplomatic and naval representatives, however, would cooperate with the representa-

tives of other Powers in the protection of nationals wherever joint action seemed desirable. Mr. Coolidge also made it clear that the United States was not prepared to uphold the right of Americans to remain in danger zones, but that such persons should withdraw from the country or retire to places where adequate protection could be afforded. A brief official statement embodying the substance of this informal declaration of policy was issued by Secretary of State Kellogg on April 1.

The March receipts from the Federal income tax, made public on April 2, fell somewhat short of the early estimates, the final figure being \$516,534,789. For the nine months ending March 31 the total income tax receipts were \$1,649,000,000,





ONE OF THOSE THINGS HARD TO UNDERSTAND

—NEA Service

against \$1,427,000,000 for the corresponding period in 1926. An estimated surplus of about \$500,000,000 at the end of the fiscal year was nevertheless regarded as sufficient to insure a reopening of the question of tax reduction when the new Congress meets in December.

A number of Democratic leaders, among them Senator Simmons of North Carolina, have announced that an attempt would be made to take from the Secretary of the Treasury the discretionary authority which he now has to apply the surplus revenue to a reduction of the debt. Mr. Mellon has pointed out that, if prosperity continues to produce a surplus, it will be possible to extinguish the debt in approximately twenty-five years, and Mr. Coolidge has taken the position that debt reduction was also, indirectly, tax reduction. Senator Simmons and others represent a considerable body of opinion which favors an extension of the period to approximately sixty-two years, the period over which the European war debts are to be paid, thereby lightening in the interval the burden of American taxpayers.

An increase from 75 to 207 in the number of individuals who paid income taxes of \$1,000,000 or over in the calendar year 1925, as compared with the previous year, was shown in a preliminary report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue made public on April 3. On the other hand, the striking inequality in the incidence of the tax appeared in the fact that slightly more

than one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the population paid over 95 per cent. of the tax, 17 per cent. paid less than 5 per cent. of the total, while the remaining 82 per cent. were wholly exempt.

Senator Fess's prediction that, if the present business situation continued, President Coolidge would be unanimously renominated by the Republicans in 1928, was a reminder of the close connection that has often been shown in this country between business conditions and party success or failure. The past month has failed to exhibit any marked change or trend in the American business world. Official reports and statistical forecasts have in the main been optimistic, and general business has been good, but nothing suggestive of an approaching boom has appeared. An appreciable increase of activity in the production of steel and automobiles is to be noted, railway earnings have continued to be satisfactory, chain store business has recorded impressive gains, and the textile situation has somewhat improved, notwithstanding the closing or sale of a number of mills in New England. The oil industry, on the other hand, has been depressed by overproduction and price-cutting, and reports of Spring buying have indicated a cautious attitude on the part of merchants and manufacturers generally.

Some temporary anxiety was occasioned in March by the failure of a number of banks in Palm Beach County, Fla. An extension of branch banking, made possible by the McFadden banking act passed by the last Congress, together with the consolidation of groups of small banks under unified control, has attracted attention in various parts of the country.

All efforts to avert the impending strike in the bituminous coal fields failed, and the strike began on April 1. While it was generally believed that the strike would be prolonged, the accumulation of some 80,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, together with the prospect of a continued large output from non-union mines, served greatly to diminish the apprehension with which the strike was regarded by large industrial consumers, the coal operators, and the public. No intervention by the Federal Government was expected.

The award on March 27 of a 6 per cent. wage increase to some 20,000 railway clerks, freight handlers and station employees of the New York Central Lines, east and west, was the fourth increase granted to railway employees by the Federal Board of Arbitration since December. The total addition to



the labor bill of the railways was about \$25,000,000. A 5 per cent. increase in wages, affecting 15,000 employees of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City, was granted by the company on March 30.

For attempting last Summer to compel three milk companies in Boston to employ only union men a local union of the Milk Drivers and Creamery Workers Union was mulcted in damages to the amount of \$61,971.44 by the Massachusetts Superior Court on March 22.

The Federal Radio Commission created by the last Congress began its work on March 15 by directing that all radio, amateur and ship licenses issued by the Department of Commerce should continue in force until further notice, and by calling for immediate application for licenses for broadcasting and point-to-point communication. Consideration by a Canadian-American joint commission of complaints that Americans were pirating wave lengths assigned to Canada, and of a request for the allotment to Canada of twelve to fifteen wave lengths in place of the present six, was without result. On March 24, however, the Federal Commission notified applicants for broadcasting licenses that they would not be allowed to use the wave channels already assigned to the Dominion. The general policy of the commission in regard to broadcasting was outlined in a statement issued on April 7.

Harry F. Sinclair, lessee of the Teapot Dome Naval Oil Reserve, was found guilty of contempt by a jury in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, on March 16, for refusing to answer questions put to him in March, 1924, by the Walsh committee of the Senate, which was investigating the oil scandals. On March 31 a motion for a new trial was denied. The statutory penalty for the offense includes both fine and imprisonment.

A study of the deaths from alcoholism among the 17,000,000 policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the results of which were made public on April 4, showed that the rate for 1926 was the highest since 1917 and 24 per cent. higher than for 1925 and that the increase instead of being confined to "wet" districts or centres was general throughout the country.

The right of the State of Louisiana and the City of New Orleans to discriminate between whites and negroes in the occupancy of real estate was denied by the United States Supreme Court in a decision handed down on March 14. The laws and ordinance

in question required property owners to obtain the consent of a majority of the residents of a district before renting property for residential purposes to members of either race.

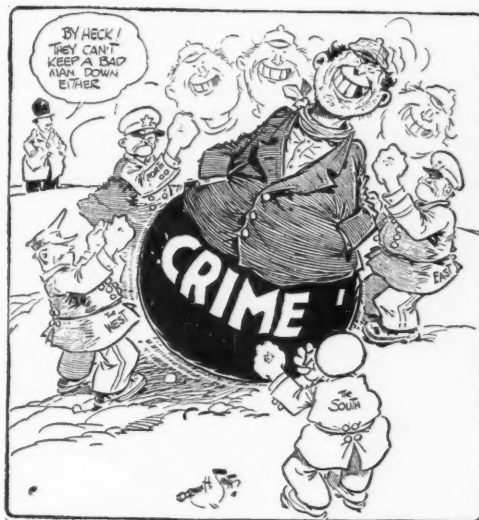
A bill for a plebiscite on the question of independence passed by the Philippine Legislature over the veto of Governor General Leonard Wood was vetoed by President Coolidge on April 6 on the ground that a vote "yes" or "no" on the question would be "unconvincing" as an indication of public opinion.

The application of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti for a new trial was refused by the Massachusetts Supreme Court in a unanimous decision on April 6. The defendants, whose case has aroused worldwide interest, were found guilty of murder on July 14, 1921.

Former Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois announced on April 4 his willingness to seek the Republican nomination for President in 1928 "provided a sufficient number of agricultural States in the Middle West demanded it."

A debate on prohibition, which will undoubtedly have political repercussions, between Senator William E. Borah and Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, on April 8 resulted in a decision for Senator Borah. He declared for a strong 1928 Republican platform plank upholding the amendment, while President Butler demanded its immediate repeal by popular vote.

W. MacD.



THE NATIONAL ROLY POLY  
-NEA Service

## Mexico and Central America

THE Mexican Government continued throughout March to enforce with vigor the new religious and educational laws. Fines were assessed against thirty-three women and six men in Mexico City on March 9, all of whom were arrested at a private residence and were charged with having unlawfully assembled there for the conduct of religious ceremonies and with having offered insults to high officials when the police broke into the house. Four days later it was reported that the police had seized for examination a quantity of documents in the City of Mexico residence of Bishop de la Mora of San Luis Potosi.

A spokesman for the Mexican Catholic Episcopate on March 26 is reported to have asserted that leaders in the Government at Mexico City had suggested that religious ceremonies in the churches be resumed with the assurance that the Government would not interfere. To this suggestion the Episcopate's spokesman is reported to have replied: "The Bishops of Mexico cannot enter into any agreement that does not guarantee the Church all her rights . . . All propositions must have the approval of Rome. . . . This evidently is the sore point with the Government, as officials say that the Church in Mexico should act on its own account without waiting for the approval of Rome, as the Mexican Government does not recognize the authority of the Pope."

The State of Jalisco was the scene of serious revolutionary disturbances during March, with Guadalajara as the storm centre. Sanguinary battles took place at Los Altos and Guajalato. Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez was reported by the Catholic Revolutionary Junta to be in the vicinity of Los Altos with 400 men recruited among farmers, and two priests were reported to be recruiting forces at Jalisco.

Edgar M. Wilkins, American engineer, after being kidnapped and held for 40,000 pesos ransom near Guadalajara on March 27, was murdered by his captors when they were hard pressed by Federal troops and apparently had become convinced that they would not receive the ransom. The majority of the kidnappers escaped although several were captured and executed by Federal troops. Mexican Government officials on April 5 issued a statement that they had learned from an intercepted message that Wilkins had been kidnapped and deliberately murdered in a plot carried out by enemies of President Calles to embarrass him

and to cause trouble with the United States.

Mexican rebels, under the command of former General Rudolfo Gallegos and reported to have been shouting the religious battle cry, "Long Live Christ the King," held up, burned, and looted the Laredo-Mexico City train on the night of March 19. None of the passengers, among whom were six Americans, was abused or robbed. The Mexican War Department on April 3 announced that 5,000 troops had been sent to exterminate the bandits.

The details of how a serious crisis in the relations between the United States and Mexico had been averted were narrated in a special dispatch to *The New York Times* from Washington on March 27. According to this dispatch:

This crisis was due to a plot skillfully carried out. Forged communications, purporting to have been signed by Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, and other officers of the Washington Government, were placed in the possession of the Calles Administration in Mexico City and brought to a dangerous point the already tense state of affairs affecting the two nations.

The forged documents or papers . . . cleverly designed to foment trouble between Mexico and the United States . . . were placed in the possession of the Mexican Government and produced the impression on the mind of President Calles that the Coolidge Administration was making plans either to foment a revolution in Mexico or to bring about a war with that country. The discovery that these alleged messages were forgeries relieved a situation that probably would have led to a serious breach, to say the least, in the relation of the two countries.

It was reported on April 7 that these documents numbered nearly 300.

The dispatch gives credit to George Barr Baker of New York, a former newspaper man, for having been instrumental in bringing about the exposure of the plot after President Calles had shown him last January photographic copies of messages to which, according to the aforementioned dispatch, "forgeries had been added by interpellations of a bellicose character directed against the Mexican Government."

The British Foreign Office on March 30 announced the conclusion of a convention between the British and Mexican Governments whereby are to be adjusted pecuniary claims for losses incurred by British subjects on account of revolutionary acts in Mexico between November, 1910, and May, 1920.

The bogey of Bolshevism in Mexico came

up for further discussion in March. In an article to *The New York Times* on March 18 Mr. T. R. Ybarra reported that the Mexican Government, according to his observation, "is not only as Red as the autocrats of Soviet Russia, but also rabidly anti-American." Two days later in a public statement William E. Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said:

Is the hand of the Third International clutching at the throat of Mexico? For weeks and months the propaganda has been put out that Mexico and Central America have come under the domination of Communistic teachings and that this is the cause of trouble in that part of the world. I venture to assert that the Third International, that Russia, has not one thing to do with Mexico or with Mexican politics.

The Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor on March 20 formally denied reports published in the United States that foreign petroleum companies in Mexico which have refused to accept the new Mexican petroleum law produce 85 per cent. of the oil produced in Mexico. The department reiterated previous declarations that last year the companies which have not complied with the law produced but 52.7 per cent. of the total Mexican output. By way of reply the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico, with headquarters in New York, declared on March 21 that oil companies listed by the Mexican Government as having complied with the new petroleum law produced in 1926 less than 12 per cent. of the petroleum in Mexico that year.

Announcement of a cut of approximately 12,000,000 pesos in the Mexican budget was announced on March 12. Revenues are estimated at 328,000,000 pesos and expenditures at 327,000,000 pesos.

## Haiti

UNITED STATES Senator W. H. King was prevented from entering Haitian territory in mid-March by orders of the Haitian Government. This action was justified by that Government on March 12 on the grounds that Senator King had "publicly uttered in the United States a false and offensive declaration against the President of Haiti and his coadjutors" and had "made himself in the United States the agent of the worst element of disorder in Haitian politics." For these reasons it was claimed that Senator King's "presence in Haiti would provoke a political agitation . . . and insecurity, the consequence of which would be disastrous to the popula-

tion, which is now accustomed to peace and labor."

The United States Department of State, upon being advised of this action, instructed the United States High Commissioner, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, at Port-au-Prince, to "use his good offices" in an endeavor to secure a permit for Senator King to enter Haiti. However, upon his return to the United States, on March 25, Senator King said:

President Borno has no power but what he gets from the State Department and General John H. Russell, the High Commissioner. He is merely a puppet. If the State Department and General Russell had demanded that I be admitted, President Borno would have raised the ban at once. By their failure to do this, the State Department and General Russell acquiesced in my exclusion.

General Russell, in his annual report to Secretary of State Kellogg, which was made public on March 18, criticized the judiciary system of Haiti and characterized as notable the advances in sanitation, education and public works. He described the election of President Borno, last April, as "unquestionably a wise step." Customs receipts for the last year amounted to \$8,118,966.35. The total public debt of Haiti is \$18,849,000.

## Panama

THE granting of a concession by the Panaman Government to the Tonosi Fruit Company, in the province of Los Santos, involving the construction of a railroad, was made the basis of a protest to the Panaman Government by the United States Legation in Panama. Under the treaty between Panama and the United States the former country grants "to the United States in perpetuity a monopoly for the construction, maintenance and operation of any system of communication by means of canal or railroad across its territory between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean."

## Nicaragua

ADMIRAL LATIMER, in charge of United States naval forces in Nicaragua, reported to the Navy Department on March 28 that American forces while patrolling the outskirts of the city of Leon had been fired upon by native Nicaraguans and that the Americans returned the fire.

On April 8 it was reported that General Moncada had been twice defeated by the Conservative forces of President Diaz and was surrounded in a mountain stronghold.

C. W. H.



## South America

**M**ODERN inventions—the airplane, the radio, motion pictures—are bringing the South American continent in closer touch with other parts of the world. On March 16 the Spanish Congress approved the establishment by a private corporation of a radio communication system between Madrid and Buenos Aires.

### Brazil

**O**FFICIAL statistics which have just appeared show that 137,171 immigrants entered Brazil during 1926 through the ports of Santos and Rio de Janeiro, which receive practically all new comers into the country. Santos, forty miles from Sao Paulo, received 70,000 immigrants, most of whom found work in the coffee plantations about Sao Paulo, and of those who entered through Rio de Janeiro some 27,000 also went on to Sao Paulo. Portuguese and Spanish immigrants outnumber all other nationalities in the capital port; in the State of Sao Paulo Italians predominate. The total Italian immigration entering that State since 1827 has been estimated at 904,082, as compared with 353,221 Spanish and 324,096 Portuguese. The year 1926 holds the record for immigration into Brazil since 1914. A recent report by the Minister of Public Instruction and Culture in Prussia showed that there are 1,000,000 German settlers in Brazil at the present time.

### Chile

**P**OLITICAL turmoil continued in Chile during March and April. On April 7 General Carlos Ibáñez, Premier and Minister of the Interior, was appointed Vice President to assume the duties of President for two months under the terms of a decree granting President Figueroa-Larrain's request for a two months' "leave of absence." This was a direct result of the refusal of Dr. Javier Figueroa, the President's brother, to resign his post as President of the Supreme Court at the request of the Premier. General Ibáñez's first act in his new capacity was, accordingly, to declare the post vacant.

The whole incident was regarded as indicative that the Premier plans for complete control.

Deportations of radicals continued during the month. The Russian Soviet Gov-

ernment agent, Nathan Cohen, was ordered deported to Argentina on March 21, after his admission that he had supplied the Soviet Government with information regarding the political situation in Chile. On March 14, ninety more political prisoners were landed on the island Masafuera, and other boat loads are to be deported as soon as transportation facilities are available. Dr. Agustin Edwards, former Premier and one-time Minister from Chile to Great Britain, was detained in northern Chile to answer certain questions before he was allowed to proceed to the United States. Eighteen judges, including five members of the Court of Appeals, were removed from office on March 24 by a decree signed by Premier Ibáñez; no explanation of the action accompanied the decree. On the following day all Judges of the Court of Appeals met and notified the Government that they declined to accept responsibility for the consequences of the decree.

Orders from the new Government regarding the Catholic Church and clergy caused consternation. By a decree early in March the Chilean Government eliminated from public office all clergy paid out of the National Treasury, and on March 28 the Chilean Embassy in Washington issued the following explanation:

The constitutional reform of 1925 brought about the friendly separation of Church and State. The order referred to by the correspondents would apply only to those ecclesiastics who were serving as chaplains with the armed forces or as teachers in the public schools, since those in charge of worship have been given, in a transitory provision of the Constitution of 1925, a subsidy of 2,500,000 pesos annually, to be paid during a period of five years to his Grace the Archbishop of Santiago as the head of the Catholic Church in Chile, a provision intended to facilitate the transition of the Catholic Church from a protected organization into an independent entity.

The best evidence that the measure does not entail an attack upon the Catholic doctrine or Church, to which belongs almost the entire population, can be found in the fact that the ecclesiastics are empowered to continue their religious teachings in the public schools, not as a part of the official curriculum nor as salaried officials of the Government, but as private citizens and in perfect equality with the ministers of other denominations.

Nitrate prices and sales have fallen in Chile until only twenty-eight plants were producing at the end of February, 1926, their total production being less than one-third the production in February, 1925. The Minister of the Treasury outlined the Gov-



ernment stand on the nitrate situation, reiterating in public the statement that there would be no reduction in the export tax and that centralized sales would not be permitted after June 30. A technical and research department has been organized to aid the industry, and the Government has promised lower freight rates on the nitrate railways and a lowering of customs duties on bags and other necessities of the trade.

## Peru

NEW legislation passed during the month by the Peruvian Congress included an income tax collection bill and a bill changing the tariff. The latter is the result of charges that local manufacturers, whose products are protected against foreign competition by a high tariff, are profiteering at the expense of the consumers, and authorizes the President to penalize such manufacturers by lowering duties on imported goods similar to those manufactured by them.

The tax collection bill provides the ma-

chinery of operation for the income tax law passed in March, and greatly increased revenues are expected from the new program. The revenue and exchange factors which the emergency import tariff law was designed to protect are taken care of under the new method of tax collection.

## Ecuador

M<sup>R.</sup> EDWIN W. KEMMERER and his assistants have finished their four-month task of reorganizing Ecuador's finances. They have worked out a system, based largely on the Federal Reserve System of the United States, to be given effect through twenty-four new laws. A new control bank is being organized and a group of United States financial experts have been engaged to assist in the operation of the new plans.

Late in March Dr. Kemmerer and his commission left for Bolivia, where they will perform a similar service for that republic.

H. T. C.

## The British Empire

THE first signs of what has for several months been predicted would be the greatest storm in British political life for many years were seen on April 4 when the Government bill to amend the law relating to trade unions and strikes was introduced in the House of Commons and given its first reading. Ever since the general strike of May, 1926, there has been a demand by employers throughout Great Britain for legislation to curb the power of the trade unions. In June consideration of the situation arising out of the strike was remitted by the Cabinet to a committee of the members. This committee drafted a trade union reform bill which in its finally revised form was adopted by the Cabinet on March 23. The bill as introduced contains provisions in regard to the following important matters:

1. Although general strikes are not specifically mentioned in the bill, they are obviously included under the terms of the first clause, which declares illegal "any strike having any object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute within a trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged if the strike is designed to coerce the Government or intimidate a substantial portion of the community." This means that a sympathetic strike on a large scale would be

illegal. The penalty for an illegal strike is a fine not exceeding £100 or on indictment imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years. Participants in an illegal strike are also made liable to civil damages. No one refusing to obey a strike order shall be expelled from a union or fined, and if expelled the courts can order him compensated from the funds of the union.

2. The law for the prevention of intimidation is strengthened by another clause in the bill: strikers are forbidden to attend near any one's house or place of work if the number or the manner is calculated to intimidate a person therein. Picketing the home of a worker becomes a criminal offense. Intimidation is defined as causing in the mind of a worker a reasonable apprehension of injury to him or any member of his family or damage to property, injury including boycott or exposure to hatred, ridicule and contempt.

3. The political funds of trade unions, which are largely used for electing Labor candidates to the House of Commons, are dealt with by reversing the procedure as established by the existing law. So far a member of a trade union who does not wish to contribute to the political fund of his union has had to intimate his desire to contract in writing. The proposed reform,



THE BRITISH TRADE UNION BILL

Quite a surprise; he was expecting to see a very mild little dog  
—*Western Mail, Cardiff, Wales*

demanding by Conservatives throughout the country and now embodied in this bill, is that no member shall be required to contribute to the political fund of his union unless he delivers a written notice of his willingness to contribute, and that if he has delivered such a notice he may withdraw it the following year.

4. Civil servants are prohibited from belonging to trade unions unless such unions are confined to civil servants only and are independent of any outside union. This provision is designed to prevent civil servants' unions from becoming affiliated with the Labor Party and other working-class organizations.

5. Municipal authorities are prohibited from making it a condition of employment that a person must belong to a union.

6. The Attorney General is given power to apply for an injunction to restrain any use of the funds of a trade union in contravention of the provisions of the bill.

Although not as drastic as desired by some of the extreme Conservatives, the bill came as a surprise to most Conservatives and to all Labor members. Even a section of the Conservatives expressed misgivings on

discovering how stringent are the provisions of the proposed bill.

Liberal opinion on the bill was reflected by *The Westminster Gazette*, which in its issue of April 5 said: "It is drastic enough to irritate the trade unions into organized resistance and disturb the world of industry at the worst possible moment for the peace and prosperity of the nation." At a meeting of Liberal members of the House of Commons on the evening of April 5 to determine the official attitude of the party, the views expressed were generally unfavorable to the measure on the ground that it would disturb industrial relations.

Representatives of the Parliamentary Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress at a joint meeting on April 5 pledged the entire resources of those bodies to "fight the Government's proposals to the bitter end." The Trade Union Congress, in the hope of defeating the bill, at once initiated preparations for the widest and most intensive campaign in its history, including a national May Day demonstration of the whole British working class. Not the least interesting feature of the reception of the Government's proposals was the unanimity

of all sections of the Labor movement, including the most moderate and the most extreme. Former Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, for example, declared that the bill was "the most aggressive declaration of class war that has been made in our time," while A. J. Cook, the miners' secretary, described it as "a declaration of war on the whole labor movement." That the bill would close up the Labor ranks was the opinion of J. H. Thomas, the railway men's leader, who said: "If ever the Government did anything to unite all sections of the Labor movement, they have done it now."

The Liberal Party gained a signal victory on March 28 in returning G. A. Strauss, Liberal, from North Southwark, formerly holding a Labor member. A Liberal member was also elected from Leith, Scotland, on March 24.

## Australia

**S**OUTH AUSTRALIA held its triennial Parliamentary elections on March 26, the result being a decisive defeat for the Labor Party. The Pact (Liberal and Country) parties now hold twenty-six seats in a House of forty-six. A poll, held at the same time, on the question of local option showed substantial support for the liquor trade.

It was announced on March 22 that Sir Granville Ryrie had been appointed High Commissioner for Australia in Great Britain in succession to Sir Joseph Cook.

The Commonwealth Parliament adjourned on March 24, when it sat for the last time in the Victorian Parliament Buildings in Melbourne, which it had occupied since 1901. The next meeting of the Commonwealth Parliament will be at Canberra, the new seat of the Government, which is described in an article in another part of this magazine.

The Senate on March 22 passed the Government's bill abolishing the system of grants from the surplus revenue of the Commonwealth to the States in proportion to the population.

## Canada

**R**ECIPROCITY between the United States and Canada, so far as affects the exchange of "natural products," was announced as a part of the Dominion's trade policy by Premier Mackenzie King in the course of a Parliamentary debate on March

18; he stated that were President Coolidge to obtain a 30 per cent. reduction of duties, Canada would meet this by similar aims for cattle, wheat, fish, flour, and other commodities. This, the first official pronouncement of its kind in years, was not received favorably, however, by the Coolidge Administration. It was pointed out in informal discussion that even if President Coolidge should espouse reciprocity in Canada, as did President Taft in 1911, it would provoke strong opposition in Congress and would probably lead to further political complications with the farm blocs in the House and the Senate.

With regard to the Duncan Commission report on the Maritime Provinces, Premier King stated on March 18 that the policy of the Government would be to adopt the recommendation of a 20 per cent. reduction in freight rates for traffic originating and terminating in those Provinces, subject to certain modifications on export and international trade, and that there would be immediate increased subsidies of \$875,000 to Nova Scotia, \$600,000 to New Brunswick, and \$125,000 to Prince Edward Island, the final subsidy adjustment to be settled later.

The bill designed to bring liquor back to Ontario, under Government control, after ten years of prohibition, passed the Legislature on March 29.

## India

**T**HE bill stabilizing the rupee at 18 pence gold (approximately 35 cents) passed its third reading on March 22, after an acrimonious debate lasting over two weeks.

Slavery has been abolished in the State of Kalat, Beluchistan, according to a report made to the Secretary General of the League of Nations. The expedition engaged in a campaign to emancipate the Burmese slaves was attacked on March 29 and a British officer and two soldiers killed.

The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary for India, declared in a statement in the House of Lords on March 30 that the situation in India was "fraught with peril, due in great part to increasing hostility between the Hindus and Moslems, particularly in the field of politics." This would seem to contradict other reports that a strong attempt at rapprochement was being made and that Hindus and Moslems were cooperating in the work of revising the Constitution.

R. H.

## France and Belgium

IT was announced, March 22, that the French Government had decided to postpone for at least two years the application of the Margaine law establishing a State monopoly in gasoline and other oil products. High initial expense was given as the reason for postponement.

During the first two months of 1927 imports from the United States to France increased 200,000,000 francs, while imports from France into the United States fell to some extent.

The naturalization bill, reducing the period required for naturalization from ten to three years, was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on April 7. Another clause of the same bill makes it possible for French women marrying foreigners to retain their French nationality. The chief object of the bill was said to be to incorporate a large part of the 2,500,000 foreigners now residing in France into the nation. Census statistics for March indicated that the total population slightly exceeded 40,000,000, an increase during the last five years of nearly 2,000,000.

The French Senate approved the suggestion of the Government for reducing the fee for identification cards of foreigners from 350 francs to 150 francs.

President Doumergue on April 5 signed the bill under which France will build one cruiser, six destroyers, five submarines, one mine-laying submarine and two dispatch vessels between July 1, 1927, and June 30, 1928. The vessels belong to the second section of France's naval program.

Negotiations for the return to the Bank of France of 458,000,000 francs in gold deposited in the Bank of England as security for £33,000,000 advanced to France on one transaction during the World War have been completed except for the closing of the formalities of the transfer. It was stated authoritatively in Paris that the Bank of England could have declined repayment for four years, during which France would have had to pay 6 per cent. interest, but that the British Government showed willingness to cooperate to strengthen the gold stock of the Bank of France and to settle another obligation which had been troubling the French Government.

Formal denial was made on April 8 by the French Foreign Office of the report published by the German press that the Russo-French debt negotiations had led to an agreement in principle for the payment

of 70,000,000 gold francs in sixty-two years and would soon be settled. Neither in principle nor in fact, it was added, have negotiations advanced any nearer agreement than they did last year.

A settlement between the miners and operators concerned in the coal strike was reached on April 1 through the mediation of André Tardieu, Minister of Public Works. By the terms of the agreement the wage cut will be reduced from 3 francs 60 centimes to 2 francs 60 centimes. At the same time it was announced that through the efforts of the Government the price of coal would be reduced, from April 1, by about \$3.60 per ton for domestic coal and \$2 for furnace coal.

In the Chamber on April 8 Deputy Chastenot delivered a severe attack on many practices in the financial world which had developed war and which, he said, demanded urgent and rigorous restriction. Enumerating a long list of more or less suspicious financial failures, M. Chastenot said public sympathy with such failures was due to criminal ignorance. "Since the war finance has gone through an extraordinary evolution, but nowhere is there any proper instruction in finance, so that many politicians themselves are almost wholly ignorant of such matters," he declared. "Finance and banks today are sovereigns in this country. Nobody any longer believes that Parliament is the heart of the country. It is not. The heart of the nation is the stock market."

M. Poincaré, in reply, declared that the ministries of Finance, Justice and Commerce agreed that the profession of banking needed regulating. "The profession of banking is an honorable one," he said, "and it is only right that it should be protected from absurd and false generalizations resulting in the operations of impostors being paraded as those of bankers."

As a result of charges of corruption in the administration of Indo-China the Government announced on March 20 that certain concessions alleged to be connected with the abuses would be held in abeyance, pending the report of an official investigation by a committee of the Government.

The proposal of Louis Marin, Minister of Pensions, to grant to women the right of suffrage was rejected by a Senate committee appointed to study the question by a vote of 7 to 5 on March 26.

April 6, the anniversary of America's



entrance into the World War, was appropriately celebrated at the Arc de Triomphe and in the American cemeteries.

## Belgium

**M.** SOMERHAUSEN, a Socialist Deputy representing Eupen and Malmédy, districts ceded to Belgium by the Treaty of Versailles, on March 15 demanded that a new plebiscite be held on the ground that freedom of choice had been interfered with in the original plebiscite. Prime Minister Jaspar said that the two

Provinces of Eupen and Malmédy had been transferred to Belgium in strict accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and that the charges of oppression were due to propaganda on the part of Germans who were determined not to accept the results of Versailles. He stated that the Belgian Government, which represented Catholics, Liberals and Socialists, was unitedly opposed to granting a new plebiscite. M. Winandy, Catholic Deputy, demanded that the Government take steps to end the pan-German propaganda in Eupen and Malmédy. C. B.

## Germany and Austria

**T**HE Reichstag, on April 6, passed what will be the heaviest budget in Germany's history, entailing as it does an expenditure of more than 8,000,000,000 marks, of which less than one-eighth will consist of reparations payments. German taxpayers will have to raise 11,000,000,000 marks in State and municipal taxes, double the figure for 1913. The item most criticized on the budget is 700,000,000 marks for army and navy expenditures, 30,000,000 more than last year.

Another measure passed before the Easter recess was an "emergency" labor law, providing for a forty-eight-hour week, but loaded with so many conditions, that it has little real significance.

The trial of certain former members of the secret military organization, the Black Reichswehr, came to an end on March 26 when the presiding Judge of the Berlin Higher Criminal Court sentenced four of the accused to death, three being acquitted. It was brought out during the trial that the organization had been closely allied with the Reichswehr proper.

That the return of former Kaiser Wilhelm to the Fatherland is still feared, on account of the political turmoil his presence might create, is indicated by a letter from Herr Braun, Minister President of Prussia, to Chancellor Marx asking what the National Government means to do about extending the law which expires next July for the protection of the Republic.

On March 26, just when the Franco-German commercial negotiations seemed on the verge of a breakdown a compromise prolonging the temporary working agreement until June 3 and provisionally settling the dispute over wines and chemicals was reached. The French had threatened to

break off the discussions unless Germany conceded the removal of its tariff discrimination against French wines and reduced its demands for the purchase of a huge quantity of German chemicals, which would flood the French market at the expense of the French chemical industry. The agreement was approved by the Reichstag on April 7.

German industries employ more men and women now than in the commercial "gala age" from 1900 to the outbreak of the war, according to a report published in March by the Government Statistical Bureau. Data showed that the number of women wage-earners has increased far more proportionately than the men, and that the machine age is getting a grip on the nation despite efforts to ward it off through fear of increased unemployment. Germany's man power has increased by 3,000,000 over 1907 figures, the last statistical year, totaling 18,400,000 wage-earners of which 4,800,000 are women. Though men wage-earners exceed the women threefold, the feminine sex leads in several important branches of industry, hotels, restaurants, cafés and beer halls employing 61 per cent. women, the textile industries 57 per cent., and clothing manufacturers, 52 per cent. As a result of war measures the number of women still working in machine shops is five times as great as before the war, and in the electrical industry and in gas, water and other city producing plants the payrolls show five times as many women as two decades ago.

Power-driven machines have multiplied, though labor unions oppose every attempt on the part of industrialists to install labor-saving devices. At present there is a 60,000,000 horse-power force available for driving machines or one horse-power day



THE FLYING POLICEMAN

"Now, then, Mr. Archangel, do you not know that the playing of musical instruments on the Milky Way after 10 P. M. is forbidden?"  
—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

and night for each inhabitant of the German Reich.

On March 10, the Federal Council voted approval of the Government's decree raising the legal rent for old dwellings 10 per cent. on April 1 and another 10 per cent. on Oct. 1.

The number of millionaires in Germany has decreased 75 per cent. since the war, the Reich's Finance Ministry reports, there being only 4,000 today worth 1,000,000 marks (about \$250,000) or more. Only fifty-four persons, including the former Emperor William II and the heads of several provincial ruling houses, own property and securities valued at 10,000,000 marks or more. The former Emperor is conceded to be one of the nation's wealthiest men, with an income of more than \$1,000,000 a year.

## Austria

THE 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death was elaborately and joyously celebrated in Austria during the week of March 25. Vienna, which before the Great War was the music centre of Europe, assumed a festive air characteristic of the old imperial days as musicians and music lovers from all parts of the world

flocked to the ancient capital, and theatres, cafés, hotels and parks were filled to overflowing.

One of the most hotly contested election campaigns ever witnessed in Austria began in March, the Socialists launching a bitter attack on the bourgeoisie, or Christian Socialists, as the Conservative Party led by Chancellor Seipel is officially known. The Socialists, who already run Vienna strictly for the benefit of the working class, are bending every effort to secure control of the National Government. In Vienna the Socialist Government has built approximately 35,000 apartments, which are rented to workers at a figure calculated to provide for the upkeep alone, the capital involved being written off as soon as the houses are completed. Naturally this policy as well as the city's rent laws, which enable workers to live almost rent free in privately owned apartment houses, are savagely condemned by the bourgeoisie. Nor do they like the Socialist scheme of maintaining maternity clinics. An expectant mother, for example, who visits a clinic and obtains a health certificate receives \$5 and is officially congratulated by the City Magistrate, while, a few days before the arrival of a baby at known places, the city sends a neat package containing clothes and other necessities for the newly born to the value of about \$8.

The present National Government would preserve as much of the old "capitalistic" order of things as possible, including high protective tariffs.

Statistics of Austrian trade for 1926 show an unfavorable balance of \$154,000,000, \$20,000,000 more than in 1925. Analysis of the figures reflects an industrial crisis, for it shows a decrease in exports of manufactured goods and a decrease in imports of coal and raw materials, the latter being partly explained by an increase of hydroelectric power. The total exports were 1,728,000,000 schillings and the imports 2,806,000,000. The United States stood sixth in exports to Austria and tenth in imports.

The industrial situation at the end of March was far from hopeful. Some improvement was noticeable in the iron industry, which had profited by formation of the international cartels. On the other hand, business bankruptcies again increased, particularly in the textile industry, where trade troubles are ascribed to the customs barriers of the succession States and to reduced purchasing power at home. The stock market was reported as lifeless.

H. J. C.

# Italy

**D**URING the last month some 80,000 young men—the Advance Guards, as they are called—having reached the required age of 18 years, were solemnly inducted into full membership in the Fascist Party and so automatically into the Fascist militia. This means that the Blackshirt militia has now reached 380,000. The ceremony was performed with much pomp and circumstance in the chief town of each Province, the occasion marking the eighth anniversary of the founding of Fascismo. But, as the exact date fell on March 23, Mussolini decreed that the celebration take place the following Sunday, the 27th, in order not to interrupt the productive work of the nation.

Italian women, as well as men and boys, have been organized into groups. There are said to be some 1,400 of these groups with a total membership of about 80,000 women and 60,000 girls. Their work lies largely along social lines and includes children's courses on hygiene, child education, domestic economy, nursing and ambulance and dispensary work. Such work, it is pointed out, is urgently needed, as Italy, with a very high birth rate, has also a very high infant mortality rate.

In this connection it is interesting to note the report that the High Council of Public Instruction has decided that in the future women shall not be allowed to teach Italian, history and philosophy in the middle and high schools, the reason being given that women lack powers of assimilation and interpretation.

The recently created Military Defense Court has lately condemned thirty-six Italian Communist agitators to terms of imprisonment varying from two to fifteen years with heavy fines in addition. They were charged with conspiring against the State, fomentation of class hatred and offences against Premier Mussolini.

Extremely strict censorship laws are under consideration by the Chamber of Deputies. Their object, it is claimed, is to check the pornographic and the seditious. Theatrical, musical, dancing, pantomime or cinema productions must have the approval of a special committee of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Prefect of the province. Exhibition in public of any object or written material "against national order, the State, or hurtful to the dignity and prestige of the nation" is forbidden. Publication in news-

papers of details of scandals or gruesome crimes, or pictures illustrating such cases, is also prohibited. For violation of these laws fines and imprisonment in varying degrees of severity are provided. This legislation is supposed to be sponsored by the ecclesiastical authorities and is interpreted as an evidence of the desire of the Fascist régime to gain the good will of the Church.

A more striking evidence of the *de facto* rapprochement of the State with the Vatican is the abolition of the requirement of the royal *placet* or approval on various activities of the religious orders.

Measures are under consideration for further naval development. Italy's naval construction program calls for twelve destroyers, nine submarines and four cruisers. An aerial police corps is also being established. This organization, which, incidentally, will undertake the training of pilots, is to have general supervision of all civilian air lines and to cooperate with other police forces in the prevention of smuggling and the repression of crime.

According to an official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Fascist Government opposes emigration. At the same time he asserted that Premier Mussolini was carrying out a reorganization of the Commissariat of Emigration which would place Italians abroad under direct control of the Consuls. He added:

We must have courage to affirm that the emigration of our citizens to countries other than those under the direct sovereignty of Italy is an evil. Our citizens, especially those of the lower classes, who are destined to live among other races, are fatally and violently assimilated into them. Why should our race still constitute a sort of human storehouse to feed other nations? Why should our mothers furnish soldiers for other countries? Fascism, therefore, does not intend to encourage emigration which diminishes the forces of our race.

This was followed, April 5, by the announcement that the Cabinet Council on that date had decided to suppress the Commissariat General for Emigration, whose duties would henceforth be assumed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The process of deflation in Italy is reported to have continued without serious disturbance. Unemployment has somewhat increased, but is to be expected at this time of the year and the situation is not considered alarming.

The text of a speech delivered by Signor



Belluzzo, Italian Minister of National Economy, on the present economic situation in Italy, draws the conclusion that Italian industry "is suffering from an excess of production and that the country is passing through a difficult period, but not grave, especially when compared with other nations."

A treaty of conciliation and arbitration signed on April 5 between Italy and Hungary is the tenth treaty of this character concluded by Premier Mussolini. The first was made in London in 1923; others are with Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Spain, Rumania and Albania.

The plane of Commander Francesco de Pinedo, in which he made his trans-Atlantic flight from the Cape Verde Islands to Brazil, was destroyed by fire at the Roosevelt Dam, Ariz., on April 6. De Pinedo

had arrived at that point after a series of "hops" over the South American jungles and along the Pacific Coast. The first reports of the accident—which was caused by the carelessness of a bystander—were at first interpreted in Italy as indicating that the Italian aviator's plane had been deliberately destroyed by anti-Fascista elements in America, but this erroneous impression was soon corrected by the assurances of Mussolini and the American Ambassador to the contrary. A new plane was shipped from Italy on April 20 in which Commander de Pinedo will continue his four-continent flight. Commander de Pinedo flew from Phoenix, Ariz., to San Diego, Cal., in an American navy airplane, on April 8. It was announced that he would go to New York to assemble the new plane on its arrival from Italy. E. E.

## Eastern Europe and the Balkans

### Albania

A DISTINGUISHED Balkan authority contributes the following interpretation of the underlying significance of the Treaty of Tirana:

Tirana, the little capital of Albania, situated near the centre of the country about twenty-five miles from the port of Durazzo, has become one of the most celebrated cities of the world since the signing of the famous pact between Italy and Albania last November.

The publication of this treaty has, with good cause, thrown all the chancelleries of Europe into a state of agitation. This is because the treaty, despite contrary appearances which the signatories are striving to maintain, upsets not only the equilibrium of the Adriatic, but also and above all that of all the Balkan countries. This condition will have its repercussion throughout the rest of Europe, because of the close relationship of all political and economic affairs.

In truth, this treaty is a disguised protectorate and Italy has firmly implanted her foot in the Balkans. It can be said, however, without fear of error, that the Treaty of Tirana is not only the work of Mussolini, because the traditional policies of Italy toward Albania have always been the same, but also of Ahmed Bey Zogu, President of the Albanian Republic. This young Albanian chief, remarkably endowed by nature with intelligence, is a man of

far-reaching ambition and employs all means possible to attain his aim. He is playing a "great rôle" in Albania.

Compelled to flee from his country by a revolutionary outbreak in June, 1924, he sought refuge in Yugoslavia, only to return to Albania again to take the reins of power, aided by the material and moral support of Yugoslavia. Once master of the situation, he showed his determination to be also absolute master of the country. He established, with the aid of the beys (feudal seigneurs and great landowners) a veritable dictatorship. The liberty of press, of speech and of the right of meeting was suppressed. All recalcitrants were imprisoned. Leaders of the political refugees in foreign lands were condemned to death by default. An active internal propaganda was organized to disrupt the various elements of the country and set them one against the other. This developed an era of suspicion and fear.

With regard to foreigners, Ahmed Bey Zogu established a policy of concessions. He had scarcely come into power when he ceded to Yugoslavia the Albanian territories of Vermosh and St. Naoum, the latter recognized as belonging to Albania by the Conference of Ambassadors, by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and by the Council of the League of Nations. The National Bank and many valuable economic concessions were given to Italy under conditions which were disastrous to the country. These con-



ditions reduced Albania, in effect, to a state of economic slavery to Italy. The situation was so bad, in fact, that Mefid Bey Libohova, Zogu's former Minister of Finance, was publicly charged with embezzlement and was forced, as a formality, to go before a Court of Justice, which suspended all hearings after Italy had intervened in his behalf. Furthermore, the "autocephalous" church (independent), created by Albanian Nationalists, was once more placed under the influence of the Greek Patriarch.

Ahmed Bey Zogu manoeuvred for two years to maintain an equilibrium between the economic rivalries of neighboring countries by favoring the aspirations of each of them. Feeling his unpopularity growing steadily in Albania and pressed from all sides by his neighbors for further great concessions, which were available only in the very heart of the Albanian Republic, Ahmed Bey Zogu had only one move left if he desired to remain in power and that was to choose between a protectorate of Yugoslavia or of Italy.

He made diplomatic soundings at Belgrade and at Rome. Belgrade was torn by internal political strife and had no means of gauging the extent to which she could openly defy the Government of Mussolini. Accordingly, Belgrade refused to have anything to do with Ahmed Bey Zogu.

But Fascist help did not have to be asked twice. The Fascist Government seized the occasion "by the hair" (an expression once used by Mussolini). Negotiations were quickly concluded and the Treaty of Tirana took shape. This treaty, which official Albania and Italy are striving to have considered as a second Locarno, by reason of its disguised phrases, threatens now by the sheer force of events to become a second Sarajevo.

Mussolini's Italy loves the political policy of the *fait accompli*. Happy at last to be able to inaugurate the vast plan which preceding Governments had been unable to realize—a plan which called for first gaining a foothold in the Balkans by way of Albania, then of filtering into Macedonia and advancing as far as Constantinople—the Fascist Government decided to act quickly.

Inasmuch as Albanian land cannot be sold to foreigners, 90-year leases were negotiated between Italian associations and the Albanian beys, the great landowners of the country. Under the pretext of rescuing the victims of the last earthquake, Italian officers and soldiers were sent into Albania in the guise of Red Cross workers. Valona

and other Albanian villages which, a few months ago, had only ten or twelve Italian residents, have been invaded by Italian emigrants to the point where they now form 50 per cent. of the population. How many will there be in a few months, or in a few years? Albania, with an area of 30,000 square kilometers, of which only 10 per cent. is cultivated, and with only 1,000,000 people in a territory which could easily support four or five million, is a vast field for the expansion of Italian immigration. This fact naturally has caught the eye of the Italian rulers.

But, as it happens, European countries at the present time cannot act entirely as they desire. The political and economic interest of all of them, developments as they are of many centuries of history, are intertwined and interdependent. Italy, therefore, at the first step in her plan of expansion, encountered Yugoslavia and Greece.

Italy has always been a scarecrow in the Balkans for Yugoslavia. The latter gets a chill of fright when even a simple Italian soldier disembarks in Albania. She sees clearly what fate menaces her. The day on which Italy gains a hold in the Balkans, even at Valona, on that day is sounded the death knell of the unity of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

In effect, the object of Italy is double. In the first place, it is to colonize Albania with emigrants as rapidly as possible. In the second place, it is to gain the sympathy of the Albanians by showing to them the possibility of including in Albania—an Albania which would be under the Italian yoke—the old Albanian territory of Kosovo, containing more than a million Albanians, which was annexed by Serbia in 1913. Italy would also like to attack Serbia at several other vulnerable points, the Dalmatian Coast, in Macedonia, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two latter populated in large part by Moslems. Will Yugoslav unity be able to resist these concerted attacks? Or will it follow the fate of the old and powerful Austro-Hungarian Empire?

Despite the fact that Yugoslavia does not profess any great sympathy for her neighbor, Albania, nevertheless she does not desire its dismembering for her security. As for Greece, she looks differently on the Albanian problem. Her policy toward Albania since 1918 has remained the same. During the Peace Conference she saw no inconvenience in the application of the Secret Treaty of 1915, which divided Albania between Italy, Serbia and Greece. Today she is not disturbed in great measure

by the pact between Italy and Albania. With the advice and aid of Great Britain she does not feel directly menaced now by Italy, the efforts of the latter being directed principally toward Yugoslavia. Greece will consider itself satisfied if the Treaty of Tirana is executed with the same results as attended the Secret Treaty of 1915. Argyrocastro and Koritza—those are the two Albanian cities which Greece will never cease to claim.

To calm the anxiety of Yugoslavia, Albania, counseled by Italy and with the accord of Great Britain, proposed to Yugoslavia the signing of a treaty similar to the Tirana treaty. The conclusion of such a treaty between Albania, on one part, and Serbia and Greece, on the other, would mean in effect the division of Albania into spheres of influence and a return of the politics of the Secret Treaty of 1915.

For the reasons invoked in 1919, however, Yugoslavia refused to respond to Albania's offer. After this refusal, the newspapers in their dispatches began to echo most alarming news concerning Albania. Italy's appeal to the Chancelleries of Europe, following mutual charges and countercharges of action being taken on each side to engineer a new revolution in Albania, led to Yugoslavia declaring herself prepared to permit an inquiry by a commission of military experts to be made on the Albanian frontiers. The suggestion came from various sources that the question be taken up by the Council of the League of Nations, by virtue of the terms of Article 11 of the Covenant, and that the commission to be sent to Albania be chosen by the Council. Public opinion in Italy, while reacting most favorably to the proposal first made, although expressing doubt as to its value, nevertheless refused categorically to accept the second. At that moment one might well have considered that Europe stood once more on the threshold of tragic events similar to those of August, 1914.

In the face of this grave situation the diplomacy of England, France and Germany set itself in motion to bring about conciliatory measures. This diplomatic action seemed to develop in the following direction: To attempt to eliminate all immediate danger of war and pave the way for better feeling, which would permit subsequent regulation of the situation created by the Treaty of Tirana, by conversations directly between Rome and Belgrade, without further intermediation by the Powers.

The writer remains skeptical of this policy of temporizing and fears strongly

that, swept on by the events, the diplomats will not be able to arrange matters in this manner. Furthermore, despite the hesitancy which the Powers show at this time to submit the Italo-Yugoslav differences to the League of Nations, the writer believes that the controversy will never be regulated and a war between the two countries avoided until the day when, by force of circumstances, the entire Albanian question, as it is presented in the Treaty of Tirana, comes before the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations, by virtue of Articles 11 and 15, and also Article 19 of the Covenant.

## Bulgaria

**B**ULGARIAN domestic affairs came into momentary prominence during March as a result of the suggestion made by M. Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist Foreign Minister, at a session of the League Council, that it would be a graceful gesture for the Bulgarian Government to issue a decree of general amnesty for political prisoners as acknowledgment of the special loan of \$11,000,000 that the League has granted Bulgaria to settle the Macedonian refugee problem. This suggestion was immediately objected to by Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, on the ground that the League should not interfere in the domestic affairs of its members. Though this closed the incident at the Council session, there was a revival of it in the House of Commons on March 16, when Colonel Wedgwood, a Labor member, challenged Sir Austen's stand and accused the Bulgarian Government of terrorism. Sir Austen's reiteration of the statement that Bulgarian political prisoners were none of the League's business made a most favorable impression in Bulgaria and the Government immediately issued a report in which it pointed out that in the last three years four amnesties had been granted, the last affecting 9,000 prisoners, and that the King had pardoned 493, leaving a total of only 751 in the jails at present.

## Czechoslovakia

**U**NEMPLOYMENT among the glass workers of North Bohemia, as a result of the substitution of machine methods of production for the old handwork system, caused serious disturbances during the latter part of March. A thousand workers invaded half a dozen factories and destroyed large stocks of glassware and ma-

chinery. As it is claimed that production of a carload of machine cut glassware requires less labor than a single hand cut vase, it is evident that thousands of workers would be thrown out of work by the wholesale introduction of modern methods.

It was reported on March 25 that negotiations for a commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which have been going on for two years, had come to a successful conclusion.

## Hungary

**C**OUNT BETHLEN, Premier of Hungary, arrived in Rome on April 4, the object of his visit being a series of conferences with Mussolini. It was confidently predicted in the press that a treaty of friendship, conciliation and arbitration would be signed, an event which occurred the following day, April 5. It was also reported that arrangements were made completing the agreement giving Hungary an outlet to the sea at Fiume. In the light of these events, victory can accordingly be credited to Mussolini's Balkan policy. All the elements in Hungary, with the exception of a small Socialist minority, have expressed themselves as well satisfied with the outcome.

The Conference of Ambassadors of the League of Nations, on March 29, abolished allied military control of Hungary, with the full approval of the representatives of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other closely interested States.

## Poland

**T**HE Sejm was suddenly adjourned on March 25 by Marshal Pilsudski, his reason for this action being that the Sejm had been summoned merely to balance the budget, and since that had been accomplished, there was no further use for its services. This move was taken as a deliberate manifestation of the fact that the Marshal's power is still considerable.

A friendship treaty with Yugoslavia, signed last December, was ratified just before the Sejm's adjournment, with speeches indicative of warm sympathy between the two Governments.

The Minister of the Interior, on March 22, issued a proclamation proscribing the Independent Peasant Party and the White Ruthenian Association, "Hromada," because of illegal and subversive activities; this was a result of the recent alleged discovery of a widespread terrorist plot.

The strike of 200,000 textile workers during March resulted in a 5 to 12 per cent. wage increase being granted by the Court of Arbitration. Even with this, however, the majority of families will earn less than 80 cents a day.

Negotiations for a loan from the United States continued, the figure being placed definitely at \$80,000,000. It was reported on April 7, however, that the conference had struck a serious obstacle in the American demand for some form of direct control by their representatives, which was being obdurately opposed by Marshal Pilsudski.

W. A. Harriman, well-known American financier, has been named Vice President of a newly organized banking firm composed of industrialists of Upper Silesia.

## Rumania

**R**UMANIAN news during the month consisted chiefly of conflicting rumors regarding King Ferdinand's condition, since the already weak health of the monarch was being seriously undermined by a severe attack of grip. He was successively reported dying with the last rites administered, dead and recovering; it was said that his family, including the King and Queen of Yugoslavia, had been summoned to his bedside, and that Prince Carol was making a secret trip from Paris to some point near the Rumanian border in order to be on hand. However, official reports of April 7 stated that the King was not only still alive but well enough to confer with his Premier and hold a Crown Council to deal with the Regency question, and that Prince Carol was still in his Neuilly villa.

## Yugoslavia

**T**HE 1927-1928 budget was passed by a small majority on March 31, after which Parliament adjourned. Future political troubles were forecast, as the Radicals, who hold the balance of power, announced that they would not support the Government further and had only tolerated Premier Uzunovitch until the budget was voted.

The appointment of a new Minister to Bulgaria, M. Nechitch, was made the occasion of an interchange of very cordial speeches between the two Governments, which was taken by the European press in general as an indication of a possible rapprochement.

An issue of \$30,000,000 in Yugoslav bonds was offered in the New York market during the first days of April. F. A. O.



# Russia

ON March 15 Sir Laming Worthington Evans, British Secretary of State for War, answered questions in the House of Commons with the assertions that the Russian standing army numbered 650,000, that its militia forces raised the total to 1,000,000 and that Russian reserves amounted to 8,000,000; and then he declared that the British Government had information that the Soviet authorities were making greater preparations for the use of poisonous gases in warfare than were being made anywhere else in the world. Three days later, in reply, *Izvestia*, speaking for the Soviet officials, announced: "We are ready to abandon the production and use of poison gas if other countries will do likewise. \* \* \* We also are ready to participate in any conference for the further reduction of armament."

Reports from Berlin on March 29 gave indication that trade relations between Germany and Soviet Russia were facing serious difficulties. The German Government seemed unwilling to give a subsidy of 25,000,000 marks to the German combine, the President of which is former Chancellor Wirth, which held the Mologless timber

concession from the Soviet Government. Three high Russian officials of the combine were sentenced to death in Moscow on April 4 and all their property confiscated. They were convicted of giving and receiving bribes. Thirteen other Russian executives of the same company were condemned to various terms of imprisonment on similar charges. The trial was the outgrowth of serious financial and other difficulties which the Mologless has encountered in the last two years.

Russian purchases from Austrian companies have increased notably. In 1922-23 Russian imports from Austria amounted to 813,000 rubles; in 1924-25 to 10,512,000, and in 1925-26 to 22,752,000. These figures were issued by the Russian commercial delegation in Vienna.

March 8 was "Woman's Day" throughout the Soviet Union. In Samarkand and Tashkent and other Central Asian centres some 6,000 Usbek and Tadjik women, it was said, endeavored to go abroad without the veil. They were met with the fury of the Mahomedan priests, who stirred the faithful, in some instances to violence. In Tashkent three women were killed by the mob.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

### Latvia

JAN TSCHAKSTE, President of Latvia, died on March 14, after a month's illness. He was Latvia's first President, elected by the first Latvian Parliament in November, 1922, and re-elected in November, 1925. Before the World War he had held various posts in the Russian Government. But when the war gave the opportunity for revolution in the Czar's empire, Tschakste went to Stockholm and began active work for the independence of the Lettish people. In 1918 he was elected Chairman of the People's Council of Latvia and headed a delegation to Paris and London to obtain recognition for the independence of Latvia. In 1920 he became presiding officer of the Latvian National Assembly and by a unanimous vote in 1922 moved up to the Presidency of the Republic of Latvia.

Gustav M. Zemgals was elected President on April 8. He was the candidate of the Democratic Central Party and was chosen

by Parliament by a vote of 73 to 72, a margin of one vote.

### Estonia

A NEW cabinet has been constructed in Estonia by Dr. Teemant as Premier. It was made up as follows:

DR. AKEL (Populist-Christian Party)—Foreign Affairs.

MR. HUENERSON (Agrarian Party)—Interior.

GENERAL RECK (Independent)—War.

MR. SEPP (Independent)—Finance.

MR. TIEF (New Farmers' Party)—Justice.

MR. KOESTER (New Farmers' Party)—Agriculture.

MR. LATTIK (Populist-Christian Party)—Public Instruction.

MR. KEREM (Populist Party)—Communications.

MR. KORNEL (Populist Party)—Commerce.

DR. MASING (Urban Proprietors' Party)—Social Welfare.

With the exception of Huenerson, Masing and Reck, these Ministers were members of the preceding Cabinet under Premier Teemant. The Estonian Parliament supported the new Cabinet with a vote of 51 to 35.

The Soviet Minister at Reval received new



instructions with regard to a pact of non-aggression between Estonia and the Soviet Union. He was to concede, as in the negotiations with Latvia, that matters which could not be settled by normal means of arbitration should be presented to an arbitral tribunal, the presiding officer of which should represent a third neutral Power. But he was to insist that Russia should be given

control over the obligations of the Baltic States on a par with the League of Nations and other Powers.

The Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs declared to the press that his Government was determined to conclude a pact and to maintain the "unity of its points of view" with Latvia.

A. B. D.

## Other Nations of Europe

### Spain

GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA, replying to the protests of several newspapers, made it clear that he regards a strict censorship of the press as the only procedure that can save humanity from an impending cataclysm. Most of the good that has been accomplished by his Administration, he said, was due to his control of the press, not only making possible the solution of the Moroccan problem but also avoiding the involvement of Spain in the disputes between the American and Mexican Governments.

As to American intervention in Nicaragua, the Spanish Premier said:

"If I had not thrown out certain articles written for the newspapers, we would be involved in all kinds of difficulties. The same is true of Mexico." The Premier observed a similar justification of the strictest kind of censorship in the protection of the character of public officials, especially his own. One newspaper recently published an article which escaped the censor's blue pencil, stating that the Premier was a heavy drinker. "Everybody who knows me knows that I am a total abstainer," he declared. "I never touch a drop of wine, liqueur or whisky. I have a number of vices and weaknesses which I never attempt to hide, but wine is not one of them." In order to avoid similar attacks in the future, the Premier said that it would be necessary to apply an even stricter censorship.

Riff tribesmen in Spanish Morocco have again revolted, it was reported in a dispatch from Rabat on April 3. Since the surrender of Abd-el Krim the French have attempted to conciliate the tribesmen, but the Spanish have persisted in a repressive policy which has resulted in the new revolt of tribes comprising the Shinhaja group. About ten days previously Shereef Sultan Khamlighi revolted. Several other tribes

also rose, and the Spanish garrison at Bab Slib, judging the position untenable, crossed into the French zone, while at the same time the rebels drove a contingent of native troops from Sok Thn. These successes caused other tribesmen to revolt. Major Ostariz, the Spanish District Commander, immediately reoccupied Bab Slib, but his convoy following was attacked and captured. Returning to aid the convoy, Major Ostariz's column was ambushed and Ostariz and three officers were killed. The survivors, numbering about 400, were reported to be holding out in a precarious position at Adnam.

Other Spanish troops attempted to reoccupy Bab Slib but unsuccessfully. Relief



SPAIN INSISTS ON SENDING A SHIP TO CHINA

Primo de Rivera: "I, too; I, too, my friends, I am also a great nation"

—*Izvestia, Moscow*

columns from the Spanish main force at Amiadi were reported to be advancing successfully. The French and Spanish authorities conferred at Rabat and Tetuan, and the posts were reinforced.

## Holland

**A**N event of more than local significance is to be discerned in the rejection by the Dutch First Chamber (Senate) of the treaty with Belgium, which had been laboriously prepared by the Foreign Ministers of the two nations. The treaty was accepted by the Second Chamber by a small majority in November, but ever since that time the Dutch have been much agitated over the matter. More than fifty petitions were sent to the First Chamber, most of them opposed to the project. After debates lasting from March 9 to March 24 the upper house of fifty members voted 33 to 17 for rejection.

The treaty was entirely economic in character, having chiefly to do with the regulation of navigation on the Scheldt and the Rhine at points where the interests of the two countries coincide. The construction of two canals was authorized, one from Antwerp to Moerdijk on the Rhine and the other from Antwerp to Buhort in Germany, the cost in both cases to fall chiefly upon Belgium.

The Dutch opponents endeavored to throw political combinations into the debate, but the real objection lay in the commercial advantages which would accrue to Belgium and which were assumed to be harmful to Holland. Fear that the improvement of Antwerp would damage the business of the port of Rotterdam played a large part in the agitation.

The rejection of the treaty is a severe rebuff to a neighboring country and to the most prominent statesman in the Dutch Cabinet. Jonkheer van Karnebeek, who has held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs since 1918, made known his intention of resigning, but would continue in office until the Cabinet is reconstituted and his successor appointed.

Devotees of Esperanto in Holland have entered an economic field which they consider to be of even more importance than an international language. They have started a bank with an international currency. The unit of money is the *spesmila*, equal to about fifty American cents. This currency is to have a fixed value in each country, payable only in gold or silver, and will, it is hoped, help considerably in the process of stabilization. The bank,

known as the *Universala Spesmila Banko*, has been started at Laren, in North Holland, a small town where during the Summer the Esperantists are to hold their annual holiday school. Like other banks, it is not entirely independent, but has the support of a well-known banking firm in Hilversum, and before each issue of bills or notes a gold deposit of 40 per cent. of their value must be made in the Netherlands Bank, besides other securities of cash value. Although the promoters of the scheme recognize that at first the notes will be used only in the narrow circles of Esperantists—that is to say, at international bookstores in payment for Esperanto books, periodicals, and so forth—they are hopeful that in time they will have a wide circulation.

## Denmark

**T**HE Methodist Episcopal Committee investigating the case of Bishop Anton Bast, who was convicted in Denmark of misusing charity funds, has found him guilty of imprudent conduct and ordered that he be suspended until the General Conference in 1928, and that his case be finally dealt with by that body. The committee, which has been sitting at The Hague, is the highest court of the Methodist Episcopal Church and is known as the *Triers of Appeals*. Bishop Thomas Nicholson of Detroit presided over the tribunal, which is composed of German, Swiss, Norwegian and Italian Methodists. The annual Conference of the Danish Methodist Church last July adopted a resolution demanding that Bishop Bast be not allowed to do Methodist work in Denmark until his case was finally settled by the Methodist General Conference, which is to be held in the United States next year.

## Norway

**A** CASE involving high political personages, and which was followed for months with intense interest by all Norway, came to a decision late in March, to the great relief of the parties concerned. Premier Berge and six members of the Cabinet were under fire. The first accusation was that in May, 1923, the Premier had deposited 25,000,000 kroner of State money in the Norwegian Handelsbank, at the time in difficulties; second, that he did not inform the King or the State Council of this action, and third, that he did not inform the Storting in the debate which later ensued. The High Court of the Realm, which has been sitting

since October, dismissed all three charges against all the accused.

The Parliament of Norway has now put into effect the popular mandate respecting prohibition. On April 4 the repeal of the act of 1919 was finally passed with new regulations which take effect at an early date. Various restrictions are provided and a certain amount of local option is permitted. Towns having a population of 4,000 or less will vote on the sale of liquor in 1928 and will hold referendum on the subject every six years thereafter. Liquor under the bill may not be sold or served to minors, and will be available to adults only from 3 o'clock to the afternoon until 11 o'clock at night. The sale of liquor will be prohibited on important holidays, the day before and the day after. Mailing of liquor, except for medical purposes, will be prohibited.

It was in 1917 that Norway prohibited the importation, transportation and sale of spirits and wine containing more than 12 per cent. of alcohol. In 1919 the permanent prohibition of spirits was approved in a referendum vote of 353,567 to 304,673. A Government bill for the repeal of prohibition was defeated in both houses in July, 1924. The new Government put the question to the voters in October, 1926, and the repeal of prohibition was carried by a vote of 531,425 to 421,292.

An exhibition of the life and work of Norwegian emigrants is to be opened in Oslo in May. The plan, which is sponsored by the Nordmansburbundet, an association of Norwegians living all over the globe, has been received with great interest, especially among Americans of Norwegian extraction.

## Sweden

FINAL ratifications of arbitration treaties between Sweden and three other nations, Norway, Austria and Poland, have been exchanged. The treaty with Norway confirms the neutrality agreement entered into in 1905 when the two countries separated, after a hundred years under the same monarch. All border fortifications have been razed and every possible dispute, including those involving vital interests and national honor, are to be settled by peaceful means on the basis of fairness and equality. The treaty with Austria also

provides for unlimited arbitration of all conflicts. Though less sweeping, that with Poland, too, practically outlaws war by providing that all disputes which cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic means must be submitted first to a conciliation process. If that fails, all *de jure* questions are to be referred either to the Court of International Justice at The Hague or to special tribunals set up for the purpose. All other disputes are to be settled the same way, except those of "domestic interest only," to either party, and as to what constitutes "domestic interest only," the rulings of The Hague tribunal shall be final. Sweden now has concluded arbitration treaties with eight countries.

In the Stockholm municipal elections the Communists scored the chief successes, gaining two seats from the Social-Democrats and one from the Conservatives. In the City Council the parties now stand as follows: Conservatives 39, Liberals 9, Social-Democrats 40 and Communists 9.

The five Nobel Prizes to be awarded next Fall will be worth \$32,065 each in actual cash. The total value of all the prizes so far sent out from Sweden amounts to nearly \$4,000,000. The endowment fund established by George Bernard Shaw with the Literary Nobel Prize which he received last year will be used in the first place to translate into English the works of August Strindberg, the Swedish dramatist and fiction writer.

A Swedish-Dutch consortium for the development of mining properties in North Africa has been formed. The Swedish partner is the Grangesberg Company, which already controls about one-half of the open international iron-ore market, and the Dutch member is the firm of Muller & Co. of The Hague.

The Socialists proposed to abolish the royal decorations and the measure was approved by the Constitutional Committee of the Riksdag. The Second Chamber also approved, but in the First Chamber the vote went against the measure, thereby deciding the issue.

Emigration to Canada from Sweden and other Scandinavian countries is steadily increasing. Last year 1,080 Swedes and 1,856 Finns were transported to Halifax by the Swedish-American Line. J. M. V.

# Turkey and the Near East

THE result of the recent rejection by the United States Senate of the Lausanne Treaty between the United States and Turkey was to leave the diplomatic, and especially the commercial, relations between the two countries in an unregulated and most unsatisfactory state. This situation was remedied by an agreement concluded by Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the American High Commissioner in Turkey, with Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Feb. 17, 1927, at Angora. The terms of the agreement were stated in two notes sent by Admiral Bristol on that date to the Turkish Foreign Minister. The text of these notes is as follows:

## 1.

I have the honor to make the following statement of the agreement which has resulted from the conversations that have been held in Angora on behalf of the Government of the United States and Government of Turkey with reference to the regularization of relations between the United States and Turkey:

1—The United States of America and Turkey are agreed to establish between themselves diplomatic and consular relations based upon the principles of international law and to proceed to the appointment of Ambassadors as soon as possible. They are further agreed that diplomatic and consular representatives shall enjoy on the basis of reciprocity in the territory of the other the treatment recognized by international law.

2—(a) The United States of America and Turkey are agreed to regulate, in conformity with the principles of international law and on a basis of complete reciprocity, the commercial and consular relations as well as the conditions of establishment and residence of their nationals in the territories of the one and the other, respectively, by treaties or special conventions.

(b) In the event the Turkish-American Treaty signed at Lausanne Aug. 6, 1923, is ratified by the United States and Turkey on or before June 1, 1928, the stipulations set forth in that treaty, together with its annexes, shall be considered as meeting the requirements specified in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph as regards the regularization of commercial, consular and establishment and residence relations, it being understood that in the event the Turkish-American Treaty is ratified on or before June 1, 1928, Article 31 thereof shall be modified at the time of its ratification in the following sense: The articles of the said treaty which have a temporary character shall expire on the same date as the corresponding provisions of the treaties and conventions signed by Turkey and the Allies at Lausanne July 24, 1923.

(c) The United States of America and Turkey are agreed that the treaty of extradition signed at Lausanne Aug. 6, 1923, shall at a time mutually convenient to them be submit-

ted to the competent authority of their respective Governments for ratification. Further, the negotiations for a naturalization convention shall be undertaken within six months after the coming into effect of the consular convention and the establishment and residence conventions referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of the present paragraph or the coming into effect of the Turkish-American Treaty mentioned in sub-paragraph (b). The question of claims shall be dealt with in accordance with the terms of the notes exchanged between the Turkish and American Governments at Constantinople on Dec. 24, 1923, it being understood, however, that the provisions of those notes will come into force six months after the exchange of ratifications of the commercial convention and the convention of establishment and residence referred to in sub-paragraph (a) in the event that the Turkish-American Treaty mentioned in sub-paragraph (a) is not ratified.

3—Pending the coming into effect of the consular convention and the convention of establishment and residence referred to in sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph two, or the coming into effect of the Turkish-American Treaty mentioned in sub-paragraph (b), the principles enumerated in paragraphs one and two of this note, together with the essential provisions of the Turkish-American Treaty signed at Lausanne Aug. 6, 1923, and its annexes shall constitute the basis for the treatment which on condition of reciprocity shall be accorded nationals of Turkey in the territory of the United States and nationals of the United States in the territory of Turkey.

4—The present agreement shall become operative on the date of signature.

I shall be glad to have your confirmation of the accord thus reached.

## 2.

I have the honor to make the following statement of the agreement which has resulted from the conversations that have been held at Angora on behalf of the Government of the United States and the Government of Turkey with reference to the treatment which the United States shall accord to the commerce of Turkey and which Turkey shall accord to the commerce of the United States.

Pending the coming into effect of the commercial convention referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph two of the notes exchanged today concerning the relations between the United States and Turkey or the coming into effect of the Turkish-American Treaty signed at Lausanne Aug. 6, 1923, the status quo resulting from the exchange of notes dated July 20, 1926 [providing for most favored nation treatment in customs matters] regarding commercial relations between the United States and Turkey shall be preserved for a period of one year dating from Feb. 20, 1927. At the expiration of this period the status quo shall automatically continue for a further term of three months unless in the meantime the provisions of this note shall have been modified by mutual agreement or unless either one of the contracting parties shall have asked for a reconsideration of its provisions.



I shall be glad to have your confirmation of the accord thus reached.

The agreement thus stated was confirmed by the Turkish Foreign Minister in a letter of reply.

A commercial agreement between Turkey and Russia was signed on March 13 at Angora, to last one year, with automatic prolongation. Turkey may export goods to Russia, not exceeding \$3,750,000 in value annually, part to be handled by the Soviet trade organizations and part by private traders. Russia will apply her Asiatic or lowered customs tariff to the more important products and others will pay according to the most favored nation provision.

Six arbitral mixed courts have been set up in Constantinople in pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne. They handle cases between Turkish subjects, on the one hand, and French, Greek, Rumanian, Belgian, English and Italian subjects, on the other.

The Angora Government, having concluded a treaty with China, has decided to nominate a minister or ambassador to that country. This constitutes another step toward the establishment, if not of an Asiatic league of nations, at least of a complete web of diplomatic relations among the independent countries of Asia.

A recent Governmental decree bars the mention of Greek heroes, ancient or modern, in the schools, and bans any book that speaks unfavorably of Turkey's history or legislative and intellectual achievements. Foreign religious propaganda is also forbidden.

## Egypt

CONSIDERABLE press discussion developed during March with regard to the capitulations. It was admitted that Egypt had received some benefits from these instruments, as they had given the country an international status which enabled her to remain partially out of the power of Britain, and that their abolition would strengthen England's hands in Egypt, but, in general, the Egyptians feel that they should not be subject to a régime which has almost disappeared from the other parts of the world.

The Government has been considering proposals for the legal abolition of polygamy. A committee of professors in El Azhar University has reported adversely as regards such legislation, declaring that the abolition of polygamy would be contrary to

Moslem law and injurious morally and socially; they do not even approve the suggestion that plural marriages should take place only with a Judge's sanction, after inquiry as to whether the husband can support another wife, but fall back upon the ancient individualistic position according to which such a question is to be settled by the man concerned.

The recent decennial census showed, according to the provisional total, a population of 14,168,756, the increase being 11.1 per cent., as compared with 12.3 per cent. for the preceding decade.

The Sudan Government is arranging, under the guarantee of the British Government, a loan of \$10,000,000, most of which is to be used for the improvement of railways and transport generally. Part of the money will be applied toward extending the growth of cotton at Gezira, while another portion will be applied to improving the harbor works at Port Sudan.

## Syria

DURING the absence in France of M. Henri Ponsot, High Commissioner, nothing could happen of a decisive character as regards improving the Syrian situation. Rumors have been circulated that a kingdom may be established, and several persons have been spoken of as candidates, including President Ahmed Namy Bey, Ali Haidar Bey, former Sherif of Mecca; Taj ed-Din el-Huseini and ex-King Ali of the Hedjaz.

Meantime the apparent calm and quiet have been broken by disturbances created by bands whom the French call brigands and whom the Nationalists call patriots, sufficient once more to render the desert route eastward from Damascus unsafe. Sultan Pasha el Atrash, chief of the Druses of the mountains, with a number of his followers has taken refuge in Transjordanian territory at el-Azraq. His relative, Hassan el Atrash, submitted to the French authorities in February. Business remains seriously depressed, and the whole population longs for the establishment of an ordered prosperity.

The French view of the situation is expressed in the words of M. Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Matters are becoming settled in Syria. The present representative of France pursues methodically the work of his predecessor, who had already done much to restore calmness of mind. In fulfilling the mandate of which she assumes the burden, France fulfills the rôle of arbiter desired by the Syrian peoples, for it must not be forgotten that if France is there,

It is because all the elements of the disparate peoples show clearly and unanimously the desire that she be there.

This last statement suits the politician better than the historian, and it will certainly be denied at the Syrian Congress which has been recently arranged to meet in New York with the object of taking counsel and raising funds for further resistance to the French control in Syria.

It has just been learned that last November Colonel Henry, Military Governor of the Druse mountains, set up at Sueida a so-called Druse national Government, with Ministers, a national army of 750 men, various local officials and a police force in the capital.

An illustration of the effect of the disturbed conditions upon the economic situation may be found in the exports from Damascus to the United States, which declined from \$998,000 in 1925 to \$395,000 in 1926.

## Arabia

**K**ING IBN SAUD, in an interview in December, stated that he wished to make of the Hedjaz a neutral Moslem State, in which all Moslems would have equal rights. As regards the Caliphate, he stated that he was ready to recognize as Caliph some person who satisfies all the requirements of the sacred law. Being pressed as regards his own possible candidacy, he said: "It may be true that I am respected in my own country and that I am in a position to defend it; but what influence have I, for example, in Syria? And how would I be able to defend Islam in case it should be assailed in Egypt, in India, or elsewhere? Therefore I do not see in myself the qualifications for the Caliphate."

Hussein, dispossessed King of the Hedjaz, has published a Green Book, in which

he attacks England, accuses her of having helped Ibn Saud overthrow him and invokes the aid of the Moslem world for the recovery of his throne.

## Persia

**T**HE Prime Minister, Mustofi el Mamluk, continues to have difficulties in maintaining a Cabinet. Late in February M. Daver, Minister of Justice, closed all the courts and submitted to Parliament a bill for the thorough reform of the Ministry of Justice and the appointment of commissions to draw up laws reforming the whole judicial system of Persia, which Parliament granted. The press seized the occasion to agitate for the abolition of the Capitulations.

Parliament passed a railway construction bill late in February which instructed the Government to prepare for a line from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. It is hoped that the 1,200 miles will be completed in ten years. The revenue for the purpose will come from the sugar and tea monopoly and is expected to amount to \$7,000,000 annually.

Troubles continued between Persia and Russia over commercial relations. Meantime, the outlet for Persian goods at the north remains practically closed.

## Iraq

**E**ARLY in March the last English battalion of the Iraq garrison took its departure. Six years ago there were in Iraq thirty-three infantry battalions, six cavalry regiments, and sixteen batteries, besides five squadrons of the Royal Air Force, while today only one Indian battalion remains in addition to the five air squadrons.

A. H. L.

## The Far East

**T**HE Chinese revolution, which began at Wuchang on Oct. 10, 1911, has reached a crisis. The Kuomintang party, which grew out of a secret revolutionary organization started by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1895, has always been the core of the revolution and until his death in 1925, Dr. Sun was the acknowledged leader of the party. He took the oath as first President of China at Nanking on Jan. 5, 1912, and since his death his name has been one to conjure with in China. For years after

the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911 under the conservative régimes of President Yuan Shi-kai and other northern militarists the doctrines of the Kuomintang embodied in the three words nationalism, democracy and socialism were forgotten by the recognized Government at Peking, but Sun organized a separate régime at Canton which continued to avow them.

In the Autumn of 1924 the success of Feng Yu-hsiang, who was a friend of Sun and like him a Christian, in driving Wu Pei-fu

out of Peking seemed to forecast the triumph of the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun was called in to advise the new Government under Tuan Shi-jui, but he was stricken by the disease which carried him off on March 12, 1925, and soon after the success of his party was jeopardized by the breach between Chang Tso-lin and Feng, resulting in the latter's withdrawal from Peking in April, 1926.

Throughout China, however, the Kuomintang has been greatly strengthened by the incident of May 30, 1925, in which Shanghai foreign police fired on a mob of Chinese Nationalist demonstrators and killed several of them. This incident aroused Chinese nationalism as had Japan's Twenty-one Demands of 1915. A boycott of British goods was started in Canton, and the Kuomintang, assisted by Soviet advisers, organized for a campaign. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, they began an advance to the north in August, 1926, resulting in the taking of Hankow on Sept. 7 and Wuchang on Oct. 10, the anniversary of the revolution. During the past month the remainder of the territory south of the Yangtze has fallen to them, while revolts in their favor have occurred in West and Northwest China. Feng Yu-hsiang, who is allied to the Kuomintang, has an army in the latter region.

Shanghai, at the mouth of the Yangtze, was occupied by the Nationalists on March 21 with little actual fighting. The Shantungese defender, General Pi Shou-chan, went over to the Nationalist side. There was considerable looting and terrorism in the Chinese quarters, but the foreign settlements, guarded by barb wire entanglements, marines and warships, were little affected. Four days before his entry the Nationalist General, Ho Yin-ying issued a declaration asking foreigners to observe strict neutrality, denying any intention to seize the foreign settlement forcibly, assuring protection of property within and without the settlements, requesting foreign military forces to remain within the settlement limits to avoid misunderstanding and possible conflicts, and asserting that, if accidental bullets fell in the settlements, they would be unintentional. On March 23 the British settlement guards suffered some casualties and killed twenty Chinese in preventing a rush of 200 Shantungese soldiers seeking asylum. The British were allowing the fleeing Northerners to enter the settlement single file, giving up their arms as they entered, but the latter were sniped from behind and began to climb the gate. The British clubbed them back,

were shot at by the Chinese, and opened fire with machine guns.

On the same day, March 23, the Nationalists took Nanking, higher up the Yangtze and the last Northern foothold on the south of that river. It had been the capital of China during the first half of the Ming dynasty (1368 to 1409) and of Southern China from 222 to 589. Here the British made the treaty in 1842 after the First Opium War, which opened China to Western trade, and here in 1853 the Taipings, after taking the city by storm, made their capital. During the struggles of the Manchus to recover it, the splendid architectural monuments of ancient China were destroyed, including the famous porcelain tower. Nanking was again burned during the revolution of 1911, and here Sun Yat-sen took the oath as first President of China. American marines landed in 1924 to protect American citizens during some rioting and looting. As a result of these disasters the population had declined and the huge walls enclosed an area too large for the present city, which has a population of about 380,000. This included some 600 foreigners of whom about 400 were Americans, mostly missionaries. The Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Seventh Day Adventists and Christians support missions and a number of institutions of which the University of Nanking is the most important.

In expectation of trouble, on the Nationalist occupation, John K. Davis, the American Consul, attempted to collect the Americans in the Consulate, but was unsuccessful. Looting began on March 24 and the British Consulate was attacked. Consul Davis became alarmed and with twenty-four persons then in the Consulate made his way to Socony Hill, overlooking the Yangtze. Mobs and uniformed soldiers presently began attacking them here, sniping was incessant and a rocket signal was given the warships on the Yangtze to open fire. The American destroyer Noa and Preston and the British cruiser Emerald responded. The bombardment around the hill, which continued from 3:30 to 5 P. M., stopped the mobs, and presently a rescue party was landed and the Consul's party was embarked, but 155 Americans were left in Nanking. Admiral Hough of the United States and the British ranking naval officer on board the Emerald then sent an ultimatum to the general commanding the Nationalist forces demanding:

First—The immediate protection of all foreigners and foreign property.



Second—The reporting on board of the Cantonese General in command at Nanking before 11 o'clock the night of March 24 (Chinese time) to negotiate respecting the outrages committed.

Third—That all foreigners must be brought to the bund under escort by 10 o'clock the morning of March 25 (Chinese time).

Admiral Hough reported to Admiral Williams, who is commanding American forces in Asiatic waters, that if these demands were not complied with, Nanking could no longer enjoy the immunity from bombardment of undefended towns. President Coolidge and Secretary of the Navy Wilbur expressed their intention to back up Admiral Williams to the full. Three additional cruisers were dispatched from Hawaii; on March 26, 1,500 additional marines were started toward the Far East under Colonel Harold C. Snyder, and on April 9, another contingent of 1,500 marines was announced to sail on the steamer President Grant. The outfits included airplanes, tanks and batteries. There are now in Chinese waters thirty American war vessels, fifteen at Shanghai and others at Chungking, Changsha, Ichang, Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Nanking, Hongkong, Canton, Amoy, Swatow, Wuhu and Foochow. The forces will include 8,700 blue jackets and marines, of which nearly 7,000 may be landed. There are in addition thirty vessels and 3,000 men in Philippine waters.

By March 27 all foreigners in Nanking were accounted for, and it appeared that seven had been killed—one American, Dr. J. E. Williams, Vice President of Nanking University; three British, Dr. Satchwell Smith, port doctor; F. Hubert, harbor master, and John Knox, a sailor from the Emerald; two French priests, Fathers Vanare and Tougoul, and a Japanese stoker. Four Americans were wounded, thirteen American houses burned and the American consular records destroyed. The Japanese Consulate was looted and the British Consul wounded. Damages received by the Chinese in the bombardment were probably not serious because Socony Hill is on the outskirts of the city in a thinly inhabited region. According to Chiang Kai-shek, six Chinese civilians were killed and twelve wounded, with a large number of casualties among the soldiers. Consul Davis stated that three civilian Chinese were killed. The report of Foreign Minister Eugene Chen on April 2, however, asserted that "the Chinese casualties \* \* \* number more than one hundred killed and wounded for every single foreign casualty."

General Chiang Kai-shek on March 31

avowed his willingness to assume full responsibility, if the Nationalist troops were responsible, and to guarantee that full satisfaction would be given to the extent of the punishment of those guilty and the payment of indemnities for those killed or injured and for property destroyed. He wished to localize the affair, deprecated "wild rumors and exaggerated reports" and feared that "the revolutionists had lost a great deal of sympathy" throughout the world. On March 29 fifty Shanghai commercial banking and industrial associations sent a message to the United States State Department "deeply regretting the Nanking incident" and urging "patience and continued confidence in the Chinese people." It has been suggested that the Communist wing of the Nationalists perpetrated the Nanking outrage in order to discredit Chiang Kai-shek, who has been more moderate, but this has not been verified. On April 2, Eugene Chen made the following announcement:

The commission of inquiry appointed by the Nationalist Government to investigate the Nanking incidents has reported that the Nanking disorders were the work of reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements who during the confusion following the defeat of the Northerners and White Russian mercenaries instigated the rebel remnants and local ruffians to attack and loot the foreigners in the city. Many reactionaries arrested by the Nationalist soldiers wore uniforms taken from Nationalist soldiers previously taken captive.

The British, American, and Japanese Consulates were attacked and a few foreign lives unfortunately were lost and some foreign property looted before order was restored by the Nationalist forces which entered the city at 5:30 P. M., March 24. The Nationalists already have executed a number of those responsible.

Six foreigners were reported killed and six wounded during these disturbances, but on the other hand the Chinese casualties resulting from the American and British bombardment number more than 100 killed and wounded for every single foreign casualty. While the Nationalist Government denounces the attack on the American and British and the Consulates and expresses deep regret for the foreign lives lost and the wounding of the British Consul and other foreigners, they have lodged a strong protest against the bombardment of the Chinese civilian population by the British and American gunboats.

Under instruction from Minister MacMurray, Consul General Frank P. Lockhart at Hankow at once protested to Minister Chen against the "outrageous, unprovoked attacks at Nanking and the killing and wounding of Americans by Nationalist soldiers." In a report published on April 2, Consul Davis asserted that the "Nationalist soldiers deliberately fired upon, with intention to kill, the British, Japanese and American



Consuls knowing them to be such. \* \* \* Murder, robbery, attempted assault and other outrages were committed upon Americans and other foreigners in all parts of the city from 8 o'clock in the morning of March 24 with no attempt at official restraint until after the naval barrage at 4:30 P. M. Although the Consul attempted all day through police authorities and several other channels to see some responsible officer, none would see him."

Other incidents jeopardizing foreigners were reported from Wuhu, Foochow, Anhwei, Tsinanfu and from Chunking, where on March 31 the flag was torn from the American Consulate by a mob. The Consulates here and in Changsha have been closed, and Americans in these districts evacuated to Hankow. On April 2 the Nationalists ordered the mobilization of Feng Yhsiang's forces with instructions to advance on two fronts toward Honan Province and Peking. The Southern troops at the same time planned to advance by the Peking-Hankow railway and Tientsien-Pukow railway. Consequently Minister MacMurray, on March 28, advised all Americans to withdraw from all districts south of the Yellow River in Honan Province. Americans are also being evacuated from Southern Shantung and Anhwei Provinces and the region about Canton. On March 14, in response to protests from Consul General Lockhart, Foreign Minister Chen sent special instructions to Chinese Nationalists in Wuhu and Foochow to protect all American lives and property.

What has been the official American attitude toward these developments? Senator Borah on March 25 expressed optimism over the Chinese situation, and the belief that the Nationalists would finally establish a stable government in China. He is endeavoring to assemble the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the recess on the basis of a resolution of Dec. 25 and, if successful, is said to plan hearings on China. The State Department at first took a comparatively calm view of the Nanking incident, recognizing that "with the best of intentions there is always the possibility of unruly elements getting out of hand." But as reports of Admiral Williams in the Far East manifested an increasingly serious view of the situation, and the press expressed an increasing alarm, the State Department announced that it fully appreciated the gravity of the situation, dispatched more marines, and admitted on March 31 that demands for indemnity might be made. In a statement on April 1, Secretary Kel-

logg announced American policy as one of cooperation with the Powers for the protection of citizens:

The United States Government is taking necessary steps to protect the lives and property of Americans in China. Evacuation of Americans has been advised by the American Minister only from regions where this Government cannot accord such protection.

United States naval and marine forces have been supplied to the extent considered necessary by Admiral Williams.

There has been no order for evacuation from Shanghai.

American diplomatic and military representatives in China are cooperating fully with other foreign representatives when faced with a joint problem such as protection of the lives and property of their nationals.

The State Department on March 29 published a report showing that on Jan. 1, 1926, there were 15,038 Americans in forty-four different Chinese cities. The districts where they were the most numerous were: Shanghai, 3,738; Tientsin, 2,012; Canton, 1,558; Hankow, 1,327; Nanking, 1,034; Peking, 968; Tsinan, 492; Foochow, 424; Changsha, 365; Chunking, 260; Chefoo, 157; Amoy, 133; Wuchang, 120; Mukden, 114.

The British are greatly concerned over the situation, which has been debated in the House of Commons frequently. On April 2, it was reported that the Cabinet had decided to demand apology and indemnity for the Nanking incident, whether America and Japan cooperated or not, though the British undoubtedly desire full cooperation, both military and diplomatic, with these Powers. The United States is according military cooperation at present, as British and American naval officers are acting together in protecting foreigners. The British have dispatched further forces to Shanghai and evince every intention of making their demands effective. On March 26, the British announced that negotiations regarding the future of Shanghai had been indefinitely postponed. Three days earlier Secretary Kellogg had intimated willingness to negotiate with the Nationalists on this subject. As Great Britain and Japan as well as the United States are interested in the settlement, a joint negotiation seems necessary.

The Japanese appear reluctant to use force. They did not join in the Nanking bombardment, though the commander of the Japanese destroyer landed unarmed men and rescued 190 of his countrymen. The Japanese press views the situation calmly, though eight more destroyers were sent to Shanghai on March 26. The Government and people are giving full support to Foreign Minister Shidehara's policy of neu-

trality and non-intervention in China. An attack on some Japanese in Hankow on April 2, necessitating a landing force, does not seem to have changed his attitude.

The French on March 28 sent additional troops from Tongking, two-thirds of them being native Annamites. They reinforced the contingent of 2,500 already defending the French settlement in Shanghai. On March 30, this contingent repelled a Chinese mob attempting to invade the settlement. The French attitude, however, is one of aloofness. They appear to have no intentions of joining in concerted intervention with the other Powers. On April 1, M. Briand told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies that French relations with Chinese authorities continued cordial and the situation was not grave. This attitude is reflected quite generally in the French press much to the annoyance, it is said, of the British, who are intimating that France is even encouraging the Nationalists in order that she may gain in Chinese popularity at the expense of Great Britain and the United States. However, it was reported on April 8 that France had joined Great Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States in identic protests to Peking against the treatment of their nationals in China.

Soviet Russia has consistently assisted the Nationalists with advice and funds and probably with munitions. On March 26 the Communist International issued an appeal to the workers' organizations of the world to "wage a struggle against the new war that has begun in China," urging them to demand the immediate recall of foreign troops. On March 31, the Moscow trade unions sent \$50,000 to China for the relief of the Chinese who suffered in the Nanking bombardment. White Russians in Paris disclosed an agreement alleged to have been signed on Dec. 31, 1926, between the Moscow Communist Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in the following terms:

In view of the fact that the Chinese proletariat cannot hope to succeed in wresting power from the capitalists without the support of the Russian Soviets in a world-wide revolution it is agreed:

First—To establish the closest contact between the activities of the Kuomintang and the Soviet Executive Committee.

Second—The Soviets in return will furnish necessary aid in the matter of men, material, financial resources, publicity, propaganda and delegations.

Third—The Kuomintang agrees that a representative Russian Central Committee shall be present during every discussion of the Kuomintang committee.

Fourth—The Kuomintang shall not conclude any contract with States, groups or parties without the consent of the Executive Committee of the Russian International in Moscow.

A somewhat different attitude was, however, indicated in a letter alleged to have been written by Stalin, the Soviet leader, to Borodin, the Soviet representative in Hankow, rebuking him for antagonizing the foreign Powers by his excessive communist propaganda. The letter was said to intimate that, though Moscow wished the Nationalists to be successful, it did not want a break with Great Britain or other Powers nor did it want to encourage their intervention in China to attack Communism. This letter was said to have been taken from Mme. Borodin, who was captured by Chang Tso-lin on the steamer Pamiat Lenina on March 5, as explained in the April CURRENT HISTORY.

Moscow papers devoted full headlines to the Nanking incident, accusing Great Britain and the United States of indulging in a "blood bath." A manifesto of the Communist Central Executive Committee said: "The United States, who flirted with the Nationalist movement and coquetted with the Chinese revolution, threw off the rosy mask in one instant and revealed her military leadership in the work of mass murder and the destruction and ruin of Chinese cities." The united stand of Great Britain and the United States on this occasion, however, is said to worry Moscow.

Moscow has become involved in serious difficulties with the Peking Government. The Pamiat Lenina disclosures, coupled with Nationalist military successes and defections in their behalf, seem to have seriously troubled Chang Tso-lin. Perhaps he was further worried by the Russian Communist manifesto published on April 2, urging the proletariat of Russia and the world to assist the Nationalists. "Some maintain," the statement concluded, "that the Chinese Communists should break away from the Nationalist party, but the moment they separate themselves in that manner their influence on the national revolution will disappear and they will be placed in a most disadvantageous position."

This manifesto was given publicity by a group of Chinese Communists which reached Hankow overland from Canton on April 2 accompanied by Tom Mann, an English Communist; Browder, an American radical; Doriot, a French Communist deputy, and Roy, an Indian radical. At about this time the diplomatic corps in Peking seems to have been convinced by

Chang that Communist plots were being hatched in Russian Embassy buildings. Formal permission was given by Herr Oudendijk, Dutch Minister and dean of the diplomatic corps, to enter and search certain Russian buildings within the legation quarters. The raid took place on April 6. Buildings adjoining the embassy were searched by Chinese police and sixteen Russians and thirty-six Chinese were arrested, including Li Tu-chao, a professor in the National University and leader of the Chinese Communist Party. The search is said to have disclosed the headquarters of the Kuomintang political commission and the Executive Committee of the Third International. Chang Tso-lin announced that "the menace at Peking is removed" and intimated summary execution of those captured.

Other radical suspects have been rounded up, including two American journalists, Mrs. Mildred Bremler Mitchell of San Francisco and Wilbur Burton of Columbus, Ohio, said to be connected with Nationalist organizations. They will be deported and may be tried for engaging in insurrection against China under United States Revised Statutes, Sec. 4102, though it is very doubtful whether this offense could be proved. General Pi Shou-chen, recently commander of the Northern troops in Shanghai, but of doubtful loyalty, was beheaded.

The Soviet Consul General at Shanghai, F. W. Linde, denounced the embassy raid as contrary to international law and the reported authorization by the diplomatic corps as contrary to the Boxer protocol of 1900:

If the diplomatic corps, including the American, British and Japanese Ministers, granted Marshal Chang the right to invade the premises of the Soviet Embassy, it establishes a most dangerous precedent.

Any nation possessing self-respect must abhor this action by Marshal Chang, which is contrary to the long-established international law of all civilized countries, and is particularly dangerous in China owing to the fact that Marshal Chang is likely shortly to be ousted by the Cantonese, who may not be friendly toward certain other foreign Ministries accredited to the Peking Government.

Violent protest was made the next day by the Soviet Embassy, after the Chinese police, with the permission of the French Consul, had searched various Soviet agencies in the French concession in Tientsin. The Moscow Government has not acted at this writing, though the offense might be considered an act of war. Chang Tso-lin may hope to draw the Russians into open war with the thought that this would

solidify the Chinese against invasion, thus disintegrating the Nationalist movement. Protests by the diplomatic corps to Chang, on the ground that his police exceeded the permission given them, is a possibility.

On March 23, the British destroyed the pirates' nest at Bias Bay by naval and aerial bombardment. No lives were reported lost. This action was provoked by the piracy of the steamer Hopsang on March 21. In 1925, the British and Chinese made a joint expedition against Bias Bay, but during the boycott of 1925-26 piracy increased.

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague gave a decision on Feb. 1 withdrawing the order of Jan. 8 indicating certain measures to protect Belgian interests in China. The decision followed the notification that Belgium and China had reached an agreement assuring Belgium satisfactory protection until the conclusion of a new treaty to succeed that of 1865 denounced by China last Fall. A dispute on the propriety of this denunciation was submitted to the court by Belgium, but in view of the present agreement no further decision will be given.

Roy Chapman Andrews, preparing for his expedition into the Gobi Desert to discover the origin of man, feared, according to a statement on March 28, that military movements might interfere with his plans.

Exports to China from the United States increased from \$94,442,189 in 1925 to \$110,205,014 in 1926 in spite of the civil war.

## Japan

THE Japanese bill for the rigorous regulation of religion was shelved after a month's debate in the House of Peers committee.

During the week of March 22, twelve second and third class banks failed because of the delay of the Government in passing the earthquake bill. This would have provided payment for emergency paper issued during the earthquake of 1923. It was approved by the House of Peers on March 23 and the run on banks stopped.

On April 2 the Japanese Far Eastern lumber syndicate was given a timber-cutting concession over 2,717,000 acres on Tartar Strait until 1933.

Ninety-nine Koreans will be prosecuted for complicity in a plot discovered last Summer which was said to contemplate the formation of a Communist society of 1,000,000 members in Korea. Q. W.



# World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

Assistant Editor of *The Annalist*

**T**HANKS to the existence of the Federal Reserve System, the series of transactions resulting from the Treasury financing of March 15 was handled with scarcely a ripple of disturbance to the New York money market, a noteworthy accomplishment when consideration is given to the fact that as a result of these transactions the volume of operations of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York on March 15 was one of the largest for any day in its history. The total turnover of funds on that day, according to the monthly bulletin of the New York Reserve Bank, including both transactions for Treasury account and for ordinary banking operations, was nearly two billion dollars. Treasury transactions for the country as a whole included: The redemption of \$660,000,000 of Treasury notes, the largest maturity in some years; the issuance of two new series of certificates of indebtedness, \$170,000,000 at 3½ per cent. for six months, and \$314,000,000 of Treasury 3½ per cent. three to five-year notes in exchange for Second Converted 4¼ per cent. Liberty Loan bonds, redeemed with interest to May 15, 1927; the payment of \$90,000,000 of interest; the withdrawal of \$192,000,000 of Government deposits from depository banks, and the collection of over \$500,000,000 of income taxes.

The immediate effect of Treasury operations on March 15 was to pour into the money market about \$265,000,000 of funds, because payments by the Treasury to redeem maturing notes and to pay interest were immediately available, whereas the actual collection of income tax checks by the Treasury was spread over a number of days. So carefully were the effects of these operations anticipated, however, by the Federal Reserve bank in cooperation with the New York member banks, that the only result to the money market was a slight temporary decline in the call loan rate on the New York Stock Exchange. With allowance for normal seasonal changes in the demand for short-term credit from month to month, average interest rates were slightly firmer in March than in February and the easier tendency which was characteristic of the Winter months was checked, for the time being at least. An important factor in making money rates firmer, as well as in facilitating the huge volume of Treasury operations without disturbance to the money market, was a marked falling off in the volume of gold imports, which in March, judging by preliminary figures, amounted to little more than \$6,000,000, as against about \$62,000,000 in January (the

largest amount reported for any single month since September, 1921), and about \$22,000,000 in February.

The stock market in March was characterized by heavy trading and violent price fluctuations in certain individual issues, notably United States Steel and General Motors. On March 23 heavy short-selling drove a few stocks down so spectacularly that most financial reports gave the impression that there had been a "wide-open" break in the general market; but the movement of the averages of twenty-five representative rails and twenty-five representative industrials shows that the general market for securities was well supported throughout the month at a high level. Early in April, indeed, *The Annalist* averages for both twenty-five industrials and twenty-five rails established new high records for all time, and the average of forty bonds reached the highest figure since 1913.

## HIGH BUSINESS ACTIVITY

The rate of business activity continues high, but the continued decline in commodity prices is a disturbing factor. In the last three or four years the Federal Reserve System, through its purchase and sale of Government securities, has been able to exercise a considerable degree of control over commodity prices through the effect of these operations on commercial paper and rediscount rates. Undoubtedly the System, through its Open Market Investments Committee, could bring about still easier credit conditions which might stimulate the flagging price level; but under present conditions such action would be fraught with danger because speculation in securities and in real estate, which in some instances are already selling at inflated values, would be still further stimulated. The agitation for farm relief, on the other hand, exerts an opposite influence. Agricultural products have suffered most from the decline in commodity prices and the farm interests would, of course, welcome any action which would prevent a further fall or would bring about an increase of the price level.

The financial situation in this country, therefore, to those who care to look below the surface, presents, to say the least, some rather unusual problems. Most writers dispose of the whole subject by referring to our huge stock of gold. But the fact remains that despite the abundance of credit for industry, trade and

Continued on Page xx.



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Continued from Page xviii.

speculation, large sections of our population are suffering from unsettled economic conditions over which they, as individuals, have no control nor for which were they responsible. There have been further bank failures in agricultural regions as well as in Florida, and some farm land banks are finding themselves in a difficult position. In many sections the farmer's credit has sunk to still lower depths and his mortgages are being foreclosed. Country banks, unable to find profitable employment for their funds at home, are sending them to New York and other financial centres, where they are "safely" employed in financing speculation in securities.

March new bond offerings, as compiled from the weekly records of Dow, Jones & Co., totaled \$455,185,000, compared with \$578,500,000 in February and \$370,834,000 in March of last year. Although the total for March was below that of both February and January, the total for the first three months of this year was the largest of any quarter on record; \$110,140,000, or 24 per cent., of the bonds offered for sale in March were foreign issues, the largest of which consisted of \$30,000,000 City of Rome 6½s, \$20,640,000 City of Tokio 5½s, and \$15,000,000 Republic of Peru 7s. Additional large foreign issues were expected to be offered subsequently.

#### THE BRITISH SITUATION

The financial situation in most other countries showed no marked changes in March. Great Britain experienced a seasonal expansion in industrial activity, but the average of commodity prices declined to the lowest point since the war. Money rates, which normally show a seasonal tendency to decline in March, were practically unchanged throughout the month and the hopes entertained earlier of a reduction in the bank rate have apparently been definitely abandoned. These and other unfavorable developments indicate that the effects of the coal strike were considerably underestimated at the beginning of the year and that the process of recovery will be slower and more painful than generally anticipated.

#### RECOVERY IN FRANCE

In France, on the other hand, it becomes increasingly apparent that the effect of the rise of the franc and the deflation of the currency are not working as great havoc with commerce and industry as was feared. The iron and steel industry, which in the calendar year 1926 set up a new high record in output, is somewhat less active, but improvement has occurred in the textile and automobile industries. On the Bourse the average of ten metal shares was 150 for March, as against 146 for February, 140 for January and 131

for December. Most encouraging of all, however, is the fact that Government revenues were not seriously affected by the slackening in business activity, and the Treasury was able to reduce its indebtedness to the Bank of France to 28,150,000,000 francs, the lowest amount since August, 1925. Only as recently as last July, it will be recalled, this item reached a peak figure of 38,500,000,000 francs. Note circulation, on the other hand, increased in the last two weeks of March and the first week of April.

Having successfully carried through late last year the operation of consolidating and converting into long-term maturities the internal obligations that were due in 1926, Premier Poincaré is about to take a similar step with respect to the maturities of 1927 and 1928. There is little doubt that the conversion will be successfully accomplished, since confidence in France's present financial leadership is now well established. A recent detailed report submitted to the Senate by its taxation expert, M. Cheron, shows that the budget is now genuinely and unquestionably in balance, with an unexpectedly large excess of revenues over expenses.

#### DEFLATION IN ITALY

The lira rose sharply in March and early April. At a point slightly above the 4.80 level it reached its best quotation since 1923. An immediate cause of the advance was the success which attended the floating on the New York market of a \$100,000,000 Italian bond issue. A more fundamental cause is the policy of deflation to which the Mussolini Government is adhering with characteristic Fascist fervor. The Duce has reiterated his intention (announced last August) of effecting the complete revalorization of the lira and has turned a deaf ear to the industrialists who have asked for relief from the stringency of credit which the measures taken by the Government to carry out his program have inevitably caused. One indication of the seriousness of the present credit crisis is that the bank rate for two and a half years has stood at 7 per cent., despite a general downward tendency in the rates of other countries. Another is that even the larger industrial enterprises, notwithstanding the financial assistance which many of them have received from foreign loans, are unable to secure additional capital except at well-nigh ruinous rates of interest. The result of the credit stringency has naturally been a trade depression, with short time prevailing in the automobile, silk and cotton factories, and a further increase in unemployment.

There were three more reductions in discount rates in March. The Bank of Czechoslovakia reduced its rate from 5½ to 5 per cent., the Bank of Finland from 7½ to 7 per cent., and the Bank of Japan from 1.8 sen to 1.6 sen.

# To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

THE debate between H. G. Wells and Tommaso Sillani in this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY** on the results of Fascism in Italy is an important contribution to the history of our times and a significant demonstration of the difficulties with which the historian must grapple. The two writers are internationally known in the world of letters as historians. Mr. Wells's *Outline of History* has had an extraordinary vogue; criticism of it has been unsparing and his qualifications as a historian savagely assailed, but his popularity has suffered no impairment and his credibility as a recorder of contemporary events is endorsed unreservedly by hundreds of thousands of devoted followers. Signor Sillani, as the editor of *La Rassegna Italiana*, the most important Italian periodical of today, is an acknowledged leader in the highest European literary circles; there is every reason to believe that he expresses in his article the views of Mussolini himself; at any rate his reply to Mr. Wells is authoritative and has all the earmarks of being also semi-official. The wide divergence between the views of Mr.

Wells and Signor Sillani and their respective interpretations of events that so are so radically opposed, furnish an apt illustration of the difficulties which beset the path of the historians and the doubts which inevitably must assail their readers.

\* \* \*

Donald MacAskill, writing from Dodsland, Sask., Canada, says with reference to farmers' marketing organizations:

During the nineteenth century when, under the stimulus of increasing markets, consumption out-ran production, the selling end was not so prominent. Today, with production in the lead, no industry can survive cut-throat competition within the industry. Take the agricultural industries—wheat, for instance. Wheat producers in Western Canada found that here, as elsewhere, a small crop brought in more money at less cost than a heavy crop. In 1923 the Saskatchewan wheat producers received net about 70 cents per bushel. That year the Cooperative Wheat Producers was formed. This organization binds the wheat producers to sell all their wheat through one agency under their control—"The Canadian Wheat Pool." In 1924 the "pool" paid its members net about double what they received in 1923—\$1.66 (Winnipeg price). It cannot be claimed that the "pool" created this price, but it cannot be denied that an



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agency controlling 65 per cent. of the Canadian wheat crop has a very great effect on the market. It might further be noted that the cost of operating the agency was only  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent per bushel (1925). "Selling trusts" of this kind are the only salvation for American agriculture.

\* \* \*

Joseph Conrad Fehr, formerly Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, has submitted, at the request of the editor, the following statement of the Mixed Claims Commission's decision regarding the war status of the Y. M. C. A., in the belief that it will interest CURRENT HISTORY readers:

Edwin B. Parker, Umpire of the American-German Claims Arbitration sitting in Washington, in a recent decision and opinion has ruled that the members of the Y. M. C. A. who served on the Western front were "militarized" and under the control and supervision of military authorities, and, hence, a part of America's military machine.

The issue which gave rise to this far-reaching adjudication was whether Germany was obligated to reimburse fifty-seven Y. M. C. A. workers on account of personal property and other effects which they lost as passengers en route to France on board the ill-fated steamship Oronsa when that vessel was torpedoed and sunk in the Irish Channel on April 28, 1918. The Treaty of Berlin, which re-established peace between the United States and Germany, makes Germany liable for damage or loss suffered by "civilians" or members of the "civilian population" of the United States during the war. Counsel for the United States endeavored to show that these Oronsa victims were civilians within the meaning of the treaty.

It was established of record that the Y. M. C. A. secretaries on board the Oronsa carried no arms of any kind; were subject to no military jurisdiction whatsoever; received no pay or other compensation from the United States Government; were not required to take an oath while serving in American cantonments or with the armies "in the field"; were, at all times, under the control of their own organization superiors, and only under such necessary and usual army supervision as generally applies to all civilians within the war area, and that they have never been eligible for membership in the American Legion or other ex-service men's organizations.

"However, there can be no doubt," states the opinion of Umpire Parker, "that members of the Y. M. C. A. serving with the American Expeditionary Forces were engaged in activities aimed at the direct furtherance of military operations against Germany or her allies, and hence \* \* \* they cannot be held to have been 'civilians' or a part of the 'civilian population' of the United States within the meaning of the Treaty of Berlin. Personal equipment, uniforms and personal effects were especially adapted for use in and were intended for service with the American Expeditionary Forces. The loss is not one for which Germany is obligated to compensate, under the Treaty of Berlin."

\* \* \*

Arthur von Gwinner, who contributes an article to this issue on Responsibility for the World War is the former active head of the Deutsche Bank, one of the greatest financial institutions of the German Reich and an outstanding figure in world finance. He was one of the influential factors in the group which determined the German Imperial policies both

in domestic and foreign matters in the years immediately preceding the war.

\* \* \*

J. W. Lockhart of St. John, Wash., writes with reference to the Blumenthal and Hart articles on American hero-worship:

The discussion of American history in March CURRENT HISTORY is timely, instructive, and productive of thought. It seems to me, however, that it would have been much more valuable if the participants had clarified the atmosphere by a clear and concise statement as to what history really is, or should be, and presented a substantial basis for its interpretation. History uninterpreted is about the most worthless thing I know of; to learn its words without its lessons is a waste of time. But how are we to translate without a teacher?

Within the last forty or fifty years there has grown up in this country, and to some extent throughout the world, an aggressive tendency toward rewriting all history in terms of that pseudo-philosophy known as "the materialistic conception of history." There is, also, a strong but less aggressive tendency to rewrite history in the terms of a Deistic philosophy that ignores the possibility of the interposition of a Divine Providence in the affairs of men and preaches the idea of a persistently operating force in the creation and maintenance of all things, uninfluenced by the thoughts and prayers of mankind.

As the history of this country, from John Carver to Calvin Coolidge, was made and primarily chronicled and interpreted in the terms and spirit of Christianity, and our institutions and laws based upon the tenets of that religion, it is evident that there must be a permanent and growing conflict of statement and belief in regard to practically all our historical data. If the materialistic belief proves victorious, as is at present indicated, faith in God and humanity will eventually be eclipsed, anarchy will prevail, and the "survival of the fittest"—the strong, the sagacious and the cunning rather than the weak and insecure—will become the prevalent philosophy of life. Nietzsche's philosophy of the Superman will dominate the race.

For more than half a century it has been the avowed purpose of such cults as the Socialists, Communists and Freethinkers to eradicate the last vestige of religious thought, and particularly Christianity, from the pages of history. Hence, their premeditated attack upon the founders and propagators of Christianity and those makers of secular history, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and others, who humbly expressed their devout belief in the existence of a divine Providence watching over and ruling in the affairs of men, individuals and nations.

\* \* \*

The following is the greater part of an editorial in *The Oregonian* of Portland, Ore., on the articles by Messrs. Blumenthal and Hart in the March issue:

Truth is an essential ingredient of written history, but truth needs to be defined. It may consist as essentially in perspective and proportion as in the documentation of its materials. It is not served by the presentation of segregated incidents and episodes which, however authentic in themselves, have the final effect of falsifying the whole. The persistence with which this sound principle is ignored by a recently risen school of

Continued on Page xxiv.



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Continued from Page xxii.

part-time historians is as remarkable as it is exasperating.

The point is illustrated, both negatively and affirmatively, by two articles in this month's *CURRENT HISTORY*. In "A Plea for the Unvarnished Truth," Walter Hart Blumenthal culls a sheaf of inaccuracies as to historical minutiae from heretofore widely used texts, adding thereto a number of his own making; and in "Baseless Slanders on Great Men" Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard shows that there is nevertheless "no remedy" for previous error "in an incomplete statement of the causes and forces," for example, which have actuated great historical movements. If it was inexact to represent the War of the Revolution as a spontaneous and unanimous demand for liberty on the part of the American colonists, it is a graver offense to deny the outstanding fact that, "whatever their previous differences, the American people preferred a separate, republican and federated Government; and their ultimate right to that decision was settled once for all at Boston and Saratoga and Trenton and Yorktown. \* \* \*

Mr. Blumenthal objects to our "doting on our wise and pious ancestors, as the Massachusetts constitution designates them." Professor Hart reminds us that the present generation already is sufficiently aware of the defects of its forefathers, but is able to comprehend their virtues as well. Mr. Blumenthal has a caustic arraignment of the economic and business depravity of the revolutionary patriots; but the truth is that "not a single Colony or city was organized for any such financial strain as that imposed by a long-continued war." Also the charge that there was profiteering during the Revolution, as there has been as an incident to all wars, is as false in its implications, when not presented in connection with other facts, as would be an assertion that there was no patriotic impulse among Americans then or later during the World War.

Mr. Blumenthal intimates that the Continentals at Valley Forge suffered, not from privations, but from profiteering exactions. The truth is, of course, that there was suffering, from whatever cause; and as to Washington, on whom the batteries of detraction have recently been centred, it is true also, as Professor Hart says, that it was "chiefly due to Washington as a centralizing force that the army was held together at all." The fulminators against what they disparagingly term "hero worship" tell only part of the story. Overreaching themselves in the direction of iconoclasm, they create impressions more false to the spirit of history than the saccharine outpourings of Parson Weems.

There is deliberateness of apparent intent to weaken morale by overemphasis of inconsequential facts which did not figure in final results, which is in itself more disturbing than mere inadvertence of statement could possibly be. Taken out of association with all that occurred during the so-called Critical Period, the declaration that "for some years after the war it may almost be said that the majority of Americans were disloyal" might be taken as an apology for present-day outlawry. The dominating truth here is that out of a situation without precedent in the annals of the world the same Americans, wrongly labeled "disloyal," created a system of order with only incidental disturbance, made mistakes but corrected them, and in theory and in substance gave ultimate effect to the genius that permeates the Declaration of Independence. Carping critics of the so-called Critical Period are for some reason peculiarly prone to stress the fallacious and to omit the indubitably heroic in the annals of these most trying times. \* \* \*

## Bangkok-in-the-River

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# The Last of the Kaisers

By JAMES W. GERARD

FORMER UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY

WHEN I demanded my passports, at the time we broke diplomatic relations with Germany, I was told that, contrary to the usage of nations for centuries, I could not leave and that I was held as a hostage for the safety of Bernstorff and the German ships in our ports.

This unheard of, unprecedented treatment, never excused or apologized for, would amply justify me in writing of the personal characteristics of the man of whose court I was once officially a member. Perhaps even then I should hesitate to discuss the Kaiser directly, were it not that my sense of fair play has been roused by reading the book of Emil Ludwig.\*

A biographer always claims that his subject is extraordinary; otherwise there is but small reason for describing an individual's life. Ludwig pictures the Kaiser as an autocrat who decided, according to his own will, every vital question, whether of peace or war, affecting Germany—an autocrat "with whom an able family came to perdition."

The Kaiser was not, politically, an autocrat—every one acquainted with German conditions knows this. Even the Kaiser did not feel, himself, that he was an autocrat, because he often said to me, "I wish I had as much power as your President."

To me there was never anything particularly remarkable about the Kaiser, aside from the position he occupied in the centre of the stage of the world's most awful war. Of course, that position justifies the writing of the book and our interest in the personality of the man described.

Ludwig claims that from birth the Kaiser suffered from what we glibly call the complex of inferiority and that this colored his whole existence and roused a peculiar hatred of him in his mother's breast. It seems that Ludwig puts undue weight upon any slight physical ailments of the Kaiser and attributes to them grave psychical effects. For instance on page 29 he says: "Soon afterward the sound ear was attacked; the tympanum had to be pierced—all this endangered his mental balance."

This is a mere puncturing of the ear drum for middle ear inflammation, a trouble very common in Germany, and the operation is performed yearly on thousands of children in the United States without a thought of its having any mental results.

The fact that the Kaiser practically conquered any congenital infirmity and became a good shot and a good cavalry officer proves only that the Kaiser in youth was possessed of ambition and will power. Ludwig says that he so developed his right side as compensation that he often fell from his horse. Even in the great gossip city of Berlin I never heard any such statement made. It is true that, with the same persistence which made him a good shot, he learned to be a good rider, and the fact that in the Castle of Posen I saw in his private apartments a saddle on which I was told he sat when at work only shows his pertinacity.

I have said that Berlin was a great gossip city. It was the world's champion. Shortly before my arrival an epidemic of anonymous letters flooded the city, and I was so often myself the victim of ridiculous stories that I am inclined to disbelieve the stories swallowed whole by Ludwig of the unnatural antagonism between the Kaiser's mother and her first born. This relation, in every age and every clime, is so sacred that at least a preponderance of the evidence should be required to make us believe a son guilty of unnatural conduct toward his own mother or that a mother through pure ambition hates her own first born.

As the Kaiser signed the declaration of war, technically, but only technically, the responsibility for war rests upon him; but as a prominent German, a noble and one of the richest men in the country, said to me but a few days before the commencement of war, "The great armaments and consequent taxes are breaking the backs of the countries of Europe—war is the only solution."

There is no doubt but that war was looked on with favor in Germany: not alone by the Hohenzollerns but by the great ruling class of Prussian nobles, descendants of those Teutonic Knights and Knights of the Sword who

\* *Wilhelm Hohenzollern: The Last of the Kaisers*. By Emil Ludwig. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$5.

Continued on Page iv.





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Continued from Page ii.

conquered and enslaved the Slavic population of Prussia, and especially did the Great General Staff, that institution peculiar in its power to Germany, look on war as a very desirable thing—the sole outlet for manly ambition and enterprise.

My impression is that the Kaiser, even if acquiescing in the war prepared for 1914, at the last moment desired peace. It is curious that on the question of the Kaiser's desire for peace my recollection is at variance with that of two friends, for both of whom I have a real admiration: Colonel House and Herr von Gwinner. When Colonel House interviewed the Kaiser in Potsdam in May, 1914, the Kaiser, according to Colonel House, proposed an alliance of England, Germany and the United States for the purpose of guarding the peace of the world. My recollection is that the Kaiser included France, stating that he wished to see an alliance of the four highly civilized nations, and I believe that the Kaiser has confirmed my recollection.

In an article written by me for CURRENT HISTORY, I stated that Herr von Gwinner told me that just after the outbreak of the war the Kaiser had hesitated to declare war and that the officials of the Great General Staff had threatened to break their swords over their knees if he refused to sign. Herr von Gwinner now denies this.

On this point the evidence adduced by Ludwig corroborates my recollection of the outbreak of war. He, on pages 444 and 445, quotes the marginal notes written by the Kaiser himself after the receipt of the Serbian reply:

A great moral victory for Vienna; but with it every pretext for war falls to the ground. I would suggest saying to Austria we congratulate her. There are no further grounds for war.

As Ludwig says:

All that was moderate in him was counting on peace.

And this brings me to the question of the Kaiser's real character. Now, no man that I have ever met was wholly anything. We are all a mixture of qualities—of good and bad, of strength and weakness; and sometimes one quality predominates, sometimes another. I never felt that the Kaiser was what we call a strong man. He gave no such feeling of force to overcome as I gained from Wilson, Díaz, or Poincaré—men who by sheer power of will won to the front. Nor on the other hand did he give the impression of cool reserve and balance given by the present King of the Belgians. He seemed rather a good natured man

Continued on Page vi.

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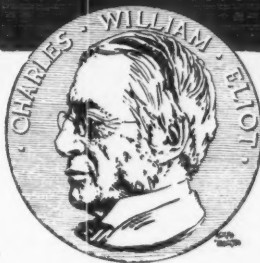
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compelled by circumstances to put on a fierce front, with but little success; a man somewhat vain of his versatility, with an undercurrent of strong religious feeling and a tendency to loud words which, however, did not frighten any one who came in direct contact with him.

At one interview I had with him he threatened to "stand no nonsense from America after the war," but I confess that the threat, although fiercely made, only gave me the impression that he had been working himself up prior to my arrival and that the mood would soon pass if I said nothing. This proved to be the case, and he soon broke into another mood in which he said that, since his armies had advanced so far into the lands of his enemies, God must be fighting on his side. This mood also passed rapidly and we settled down to quite a sane and even agreeable conversation.

It is unfortunate that the Kaiser's sabre-rattling was taken seriously by Europe, and because of his loose talk much damage was done the German name. Ludwig quotes his speech to marines about to leave for China when he said:

Take no prisoners! Kill him (the foe) when he falls into your hands. Even as a thousand years ago, the Huns under their King Attila made such a name for themselves as still resounds in terror through legend and fable, so may the name of Germans resound through Chinese history a thousand years from now.

And Ludwig correctly shows the effect of this and similar speeches in demonstrating that "the Germans were barbarians at heart." Such speeches made it easy for the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers to believe the ridiculous stories current in war time that Germans had, in their invasion of Belgium, cut off the hands of little children. The Kaiser's intemperate speech was his greatest defect.

Ludwig has correctly seized the peculiar situation of Germany in the war when the supreme power of the State, like a willful firefly, seemed to flit from General Staff to Kaiser.

A truer sentence was never penned than that of our author when he says:

At first when he realized that instead of a resolute soldier he had at his side, in Moltke, a tormented intellectual, he did make an effort to assume command.

Moltke, a name rather than a person, to put it mildly, never approached the genius of his great relative.

There were periods, at the time of the ascendancy of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, when the Great General Staff completely dom-

Continued on Page viii.





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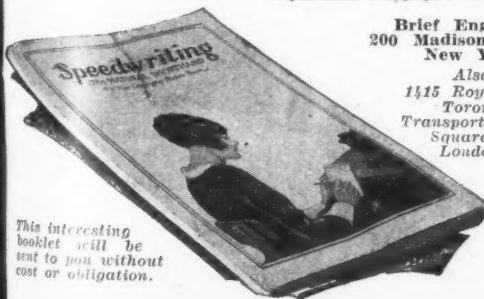
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Continued from Page vi.

inated the Kaiser, and this Ludwig makes clear; and there were times when an august Emperor, indignant at failure, could dismiss Falkenhayn and call in the idol Hindenburg and the stern Ludendorff to become in turn powerless to oppose any decision made by that redoubtable pair.

The incidents connected with Bismarck at the time of his dismissal are gone into at length by Ludwig. I was, of course, not there at the time and so cannot judge whether Ludwig's conclusions are correct or not, but I must again reiterate that Berlin is a hotbed of gossip and invention and in that atmosphere quite simple situations are made to take on an air of sinister mystery.

According to Ludwig, the break between Bismarck and the Kaiser came over the latter's desire to interfere in industrial disputes in favor of the workingmen. If this is so, then the Kaiser gained by Bismarck's dismissal or demission, because after that the German Empire attained a high standard of manufacturing efficiency and the mass of the population were satisfied enough with their lot under the Hohenzollerns to endure cheerfully through four years of martial law, blockade, semi-starvation and trench warfare, and only broke in the end because the mistaken leadership of the army and navy brought in a new army of four million men and all the resources of the Americans to administer the *coup de grâce*.

On the question of the submarine controversy which brought America into the war and, therefore, decided the war against Germany, the Kaiser at first was in favor of a strictly legal use of the submarine.

At the end of April, 1916, at his headquarters in France, I personally had a long discussion and argument with him, at a time when the military and naval experts and Foreign Office were so at variance that the matter was left to the decision of the Kaiser himself, and his decision, embodied in the so-called "Sussex Note," was in favor of peace with the United States.

Some there are who charge that if he had acted as a real war lord he would have made an early decision in favor of ruthless submarine war and could have thus defeated England; but those who make that criticism forget that such a policy would have brought in the United States of America and brought in all the force of the United States as an addition to, and not a substitute for, the great force of Czarist Russia.

When the decision was finally made in January, 1917, in favor of the ruthless submarine war, it was not the Kaiser but the mili-

tary and naval authorities who insisted upon this dangerous policy.

Nothing so ill became him as his manner of going. If he had placed himself at the head of a handful of cavalry and charged the American lines, he would in all probability be still Emperor; and it is surprising, with his genius for stage display, that his flight to Holland was ever undertaken. But we must remember the nerve strain from which the man was suffering after all the responsibility of four years of war, and the fact that his oldest and best counsellors not only advised but insisted upon this course. Ludwig had probably hit the nail on the head when he says that perhaps it was desire for martyrdom and the German love for a tragic ending that were the determining factors in his resignation.

In the short space allotted to me I cannot even advert to the many phases of the Kaiser's life as written by Ludwig; the conflicts with Bismarck, the succession of Chancellors, the building of the war fleet, Agadir and the quite peculiar favorites and the intrigues of the mysterious Holstein, *eminence grise* of the Foreign Office, are only a few of the incidents most picturesquely set forth; and, speaking of the court favorites, I am convinced that although the Kaiser was attracted by the nimble brains of these men, he was most certainly not one of their kind.

Emil Ludwig has written an interesting and readable book — in fact, a book that must be read — but his facts and his conclusions are so arranged as to create an impression too unfavorable to the Kaiser. I beg the reader to think of the Kaiser as a quite ordinary man, not much different from the rest of mankind, but making so poor a departure from the stage that his previous performances are darkened by this tragic error.

It is impossible to see how the Kaiser can be held personally responsible for the defeat of Germany. That defeat was brought about by three major errors in grand strategy, all of which lie at the door of those who at that time were responsible for the decisions of the Great General Staff.

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Kaiser, but we must remember, in appraising him, that under his rule Germany attained with startling rapidity a tremendous place in the world. The German army was the greatest in the world, the German navy efficient. Commercially, all the gold of the earth was in process of flowing toward the German coffers. Everywhere Germans challenged all nations in the markets of the world. Supreme in many industries, such as chemicals and dyestuffs, the iron and steel trade of Germany threatened that of England and the United States. The Emperor and Vaterland were the greatest ships afloat, and countless merchant ships sailed the seven seas. And ridicule the German Junker as you will, no country with a political, military and commercial system so complicated has ever been governed with such a total absence of corruption, while the people at large seemed to be animated by a high sense of patriotism and a rigid devotion to duty.

If under the rule of the Kaiser Germany attained to a pitch of power and prosperity greatest in her history, if the Kaiser opposed entering the Great War (and this Ludwig grants) and opposed the ruthless submarine warfare which brought in the United States to compass Germany's defeat, then it seems that this man, despite his manifest weaknesses and sabre rattling, deserves a somewhat better place in history than that accorded him by Emil Ludwig.

As time goes on the German people, forgetting the horrors of a war which, after all, the Kaiser tried to avert, and remembering the power and glory of the Germany of 1914, may recall, not the Kaiser, but one of his descendants to a Constitutional and Imperial throne so that the second title of Ludwig's book, "The Last of the Kaisers," may prove an untrue prophecy.

**MY EARLY LIFE.** By William II, Ex-Emperor of Germany. New York: The George H. Doran Company. \$5.

William II, thanks to the efforts of conscientious propagandists, appeared during the war in such a lurid light, that it is difficult for many people even now to think of him as anything but the embodiment of all the worst human qualities and some that were positively inhuman. Consequently, it is refreshing to have any authentic information about him that tends to correct this exaggerated picture. This well-written account of his youthful, formative period from his own hand, with its kindly sympathetic portraits of his relatives and associates, should do something toward altering existing misconceptions.



**CHINA: YESTERDAY AND TODAY.** By E. T. Williams. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, \$4.50.

This volume, which was recognized as an authoritative work on its original publication in 1923, is now reissued in revised form. The section dealing with "Present Conditions in China," has been rewritten in the light of recent events; the 1924 and 1925 Geneva conferences on the opium problem and the 1925 and 1926 conferences on tariff autonomy and extraterritoriality included; and a discussion of Russian activities in Canton and a chapter on Chinese art added. Dr. Williams brings to the work the qualifications of a thirty-five-year residence in China and a close and intimate knowledge of the people and country gained through his work as missionary, Consul General, Chargé d'Affaires and in other important official posts. The spirit of the book is seen in the following extract:

The social and political transformation that is taking place in China is the result of a struggle between two great civilizations, those of the East and the West. The author has endeavored to show that these two civilizations had a common origin. In their development, however, they took divergent courses. After ages of separation they have met. Today in the Orient they strive together for mastery. To describe this struggle, it has seemed advisable to review briefly the history of the intercourse between China and the West. The contest during the past century has for China been a losing one. The West has won victory after victory, but the end is not yet.

**THE EARLIEST TIMES.** By Fr. Funck-Brentano. Translated by E. F. Buckley. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

This is the first volume in a series entitled "The National History of France," edited by M. Funck-Brentano. When completed, the series will include a volume on the Middle Ages by M. Funck-Brentano; "The Century of the Renaissance," by Louis Battifol; "The XVII Century," by Jacques Boulenger; "The XVIII Century," by Casimer Stryienski; "The French Revolution" and "The Consulate and the Empire," by Louis Madelin. The reputation and ability of this group of historians is a guarantee of the value of their work.

In this book, M. Funck-Brentano traces "the development of France from the days of wandering savage hordes, through the highly complex civilization which preceded the Roman invasion, the less polished culture of the *Pax Romana* and the comparative anarchy of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, to the beginnings of the feudal hierarchy."

**THE PUBLIC MIND: Its Disorders. Its Exploitation.** By Norman Angell. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.

"The errors of public opinion," writes Mr. Angell, "are more damaging than they used

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Published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1927, State of New York, County of New York, ss.: Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of CURRENT HISTORY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:  
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2. That the owner is:  
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ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this thirty-first day of March, 1927.

[Seal]

Arnold Sanchez,

Notary Public, New York County, No. 26. New York Register No. 8735. Commission expires March 30, 1928.

Continued from Page xi.

to be, both because they affect government more decisively and because society has become vulnerable as it has become more complex. It is increasingly important, therefore, to understand the nature of the public mind: the disorders to which it is subject, the way in which political and journalistic demagoguery affect it, the educational or moral deficiencies that need to be corrected." With this provocative statement he plunges into the first section of the book, which purports to give a picture of the public mind, "as it is revealed at an election; during the war and at the peace; to show the influence at those crises of education and organized religion, how these manifestations compare with previous ones, and how universal are certain outstanding emotional factors of public opinion. \* \* \*

The picture is concluded by a sketch of the way in which the public mind is exploited through the popular press."

Part II, according to Mr. Angell, shows that the picture of the public mind in Part I "remains in large part invisible to the world today; that the control of governments by wealth is no assurance of the security of wealth or social order; that, excited about extremely remote dangers, the dominant interests are oblivious of the tendencies which have just recently destroyed both wealth and social security and threaten to do so again."

In Part III, Mr. Angell considers and rejects various possible solutions of the problem, such as dictatorship. "We may hope to make democracy safe," he asserts, "if we face squarely the fact that the voice of the people is usually the voice of Satan. The defense of democracy does not depend upon any proof that popular judgment is necessarily right, but that in the long run it will dictate, even to dictators; and so, being inevitable, we must make the best of it by adapting the political instruments of democracy to the changed conditions of the modern world; educating more consciously for social judgment, for the art, that is, of thinking about common facts correctly; using education to guide human nature, to develop a sense of social obligation, to rise at times above temper, instinct, passion and to assist the mind to realize the moral obligation to apply intelligence."

It will be seen that Mr. Angell's analysis of the shortcomings of the public mind and the remedies he proposes are by no means new; in fact the discussion dates back at least to Plato. But the facts are fundamental, they need continual restatement; and Mr. Angell's presentation of them, particularly his account of the effects of war-time propaganda, is extremely forceful and striking.



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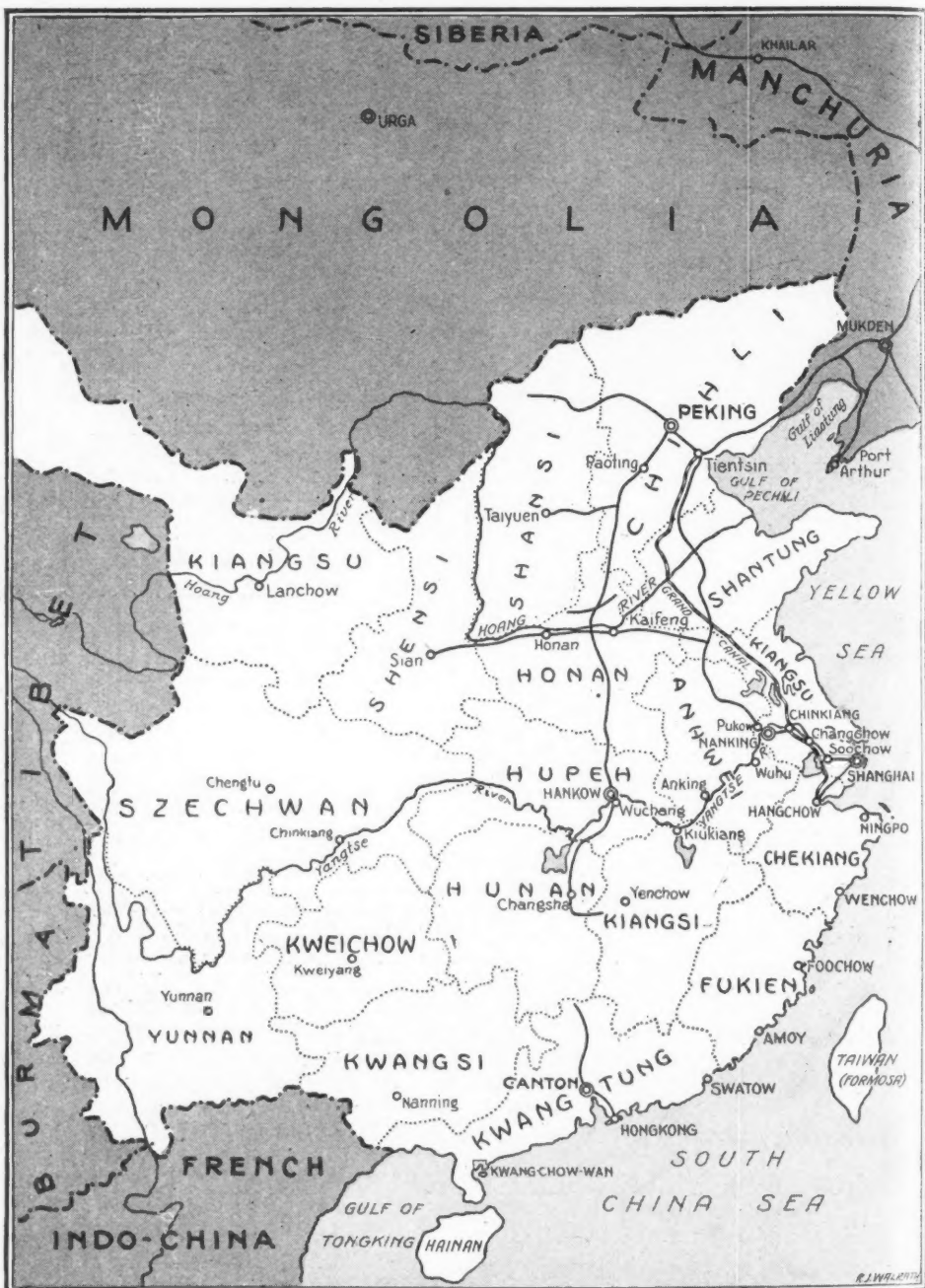
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### THE EIGHTEEN PROVINCES OF CHINA PROPER

The scene of the present struggle, but it should be remembered that the Chinese Republic also embraces Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese or East Turkestan (Sinkiang) and Tibet. The flag of the republic is composed of five stripes—crimson, yellow, blue, white and black—representing the peoples of all five areas